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NOTES ON THE METRE OF THE POEM OF THE CID

III, 1

IN the last article¹ it was shown that, contrary to current opinion, the versification of the heroic poetry of Castile could not have been influenced by the French Alexandrine before 1140, for the reason that this metre did not appear in the French epic itself previous to that time. It was furthermore shown that Santillana's celebrated utterance² is not to be regarded as a confirmation of the idea³ that the original metre of Castilian epic poetry was of the irregular structure found in the extant copy of the *Poem of the Cid*, but must be taken as an unfavorable comparison of the professional writing of *romances*, as practiced in his time, with the metrical artistry of the Gay Science and the Italianate School. It was pointed out in connection with this that in Santillana's criticism we have an invaluable, though naturally indirect, testimony to the existence in his day of the *romance* as a distinct poetic type handed down in the oral memory of the folk and preserved to us only in literary redactions. It was finally made clear that the extensive epic cannot have had the part in the genesis of the *romance* assigned to it by the theory now in vogue, firstly because the existence of the number of long, continuous poems conjectured as sources of our extant old *romances*

¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, 5, 295-349. That article will henceforth be referred to as 'II.' For a correction of some errata contained in it see the end of the present contribution.

² See for the original text, II, 304.

³ Only recently reasserted by Pio Rajna in his *Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia della romanza spagnuola*, published in ROMANIC REVIEW, 6, 29-38, without any apparent regard for the indispensable testimony of Hispanic verse contained outside the disordered texts of the *Poem of the Cid* and the *Rodrigo*.

is not only unsupported by sufficient evidence, but rendered highly improbable by several important facts; and secondly because the structure of the *romance*, as recorded in inscribed and oral tradition, is essentially different from that claimed for the pretended higher art, and thus testifies to the independent origin of this poetic form.

Before returning to the discussion of the metre of the *Poem*, a subject which presents a problem inseparable from that of the history of the Castilian epic itself, it remains for us to examine a number of other arguments currently advanced in favor of the assumption that the *romance*, as a distinct poetic type, descends from a decadent long epic.

For this purpose it seems expedient to begin with the arguments of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, not only because these, as first presented in his *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* (especially pp. 38-47), have been accepted somewhat too readily by many students of balladry, but because this scholar is now unquestionably the foremost advocate of Milá's theory. If, in consequence of this, we cite him very frequently in the course of our exposition, we wish it to be distinctly understood that it is only the doctrine expounded by him that we oppose, and that we do not fail to recognize that there are others holding similar ideas.

Let us take as basis for our examination the following passage, which contains a brief, yet fairly complete, general statement of Menéndez Pidal's conception of epic processes in Castile:⁴

Los poemas españoles que cantaban todos estos héroes, se llamaban *cantares de gesta*. Eran poemas no muy extensos comparados con los de otras literaturas (el del Cid tenía solo unos 4000 versos). escritos en metro largo é irregular, predominando los versos de 14 sílabas y más tarde los de 16. . . . El tono de estos poemas ó cantares era esencialmente narrativo, sin apenas ninguna digresión lírica; eran crónicas ó novelas rimadas. Sus asuntos eran las aventuras y las hazañas principalmente militares, de héroes pertenecientes á la alta clase de la sociedad medieval, los reyes, los condes, los ricos hombres, ó los simples caballeros. Era poesía aristocrática, señorial,

⁴ *El Romancero español* (The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1910), pp. 7-11. The same opinion, in practically identical terms, is contained in *Épopée*, 157-160. For similar, though in many respects more conservative, views expressed by Menéndez Pidal's predecessors see the references given II, 329, note 176.

escrita originariamente para un público de hidalgos, cantada en el palacio, en el castillo, en la casa solariega, en medio de las mesnadas que marchan al combate; era la poesía de la casta militar, heredera de las tradiciones de los visigodos.

Esta poesía, después de un largo y activo florecimiento, decaía visiblemente en los siglos XIV y XV. . . . La epopeya castellana, aristócrata en su origen, ensanchó el campo de sus oyentes, y se dirigió á un público numeroso y heterogéneo; perdió el cerrado carácter militar que tuvo, como poesía de nobles, para buscar muy variados matices; buscó más bien la aventura novelesca que la hazaña heroica. . . .

Dominados por esta tendencia, los juglares se aplicaron á renovar la envejecida epopeya que ya cansaba á la misma clase militar entre la que había nacido, y lograron atraerse la atención, lo mismo de los hidalgos, que de los burgueses, los mercaderes y los labradores. Solo entonces, tardiamente, la poesía heroica se hizo la poesía de todos, grandes y pequeños, esto es, poesía verdaderamente nacional y popular; solo entonces pudo llegar á vivir en la memoria del pueblo.

Así el pueblo recibió como suya esa poesía nacida para los nobles; éstos mezclados con aquellos, escuchaban con interés incansable al juglar que venía á recitar las últimas refundiciones de los viejos poemas, y el juglar logró retener su público aun en la mayor decadencia de la epopeya castellana, cuando ya los poetas de su hermana, la epopeya francesa, no sabían atraerse un interés general hacia los enormes poemas que componían. Y esa comunicación de poetas y público, continuando activa en Castilla, dió nueva vida á la poesía heroica.

Los oyentes de una larga recitación épica se encariñaban con algún episodio más feliz, haciéndolo repetir á fuerza de aplausos, y luego que el juglar acababa su largo canto, se dispersaban llevando en su memoria aquellos versos repetidos que luego ellos propagaban por todas partes. Pues bien, esos breves fragmentos, desgajados de un antiguo Cantar de Gesta, y hechos así famosos y populares, son, ni más ni menos, los *romances* más *viejos* que existieron.

It is quite true that, as Menéndez Pidal observes, the narrative song of Castile centres mostly around kings, nobles and chieftains. This prominence of persons of quality, however, is not peculiar to his special subject of investigation, but forms, as is well known, a common trait of the earliest recorded stages of heroic poetry everywhere. Indeed, it is precisely from this feature that many critics, judging the matter purely in the light of modern literary processes, have derived their main support for the theory that heroic song must

have originated in, and been primarily intended for, the aristocracy.⁵ Are we to accept this interpretation as the correct one? Obviously not, unless it be an established fact that in the heroic age the disparity in mode of thought and standard of conduct between lord and liegeman was such as to keep them in different spheres. This, however, is not the case, the evidence brought to light by the research of the past fifty years or more revealing a substantially different form of society.

In essentials, the conditions of an heroic age, the period in which heroic poetry in the strict sense of the term arises as the expression of a newly formed nationality, are those of a simple, primitive form of community in which there is no sharp distinction of classes. True, in the Germanic North, as well as in the regions reflected in the Homeric poems, we find an aristocracy; but it is an aristocracy not as yet separated from the rest of the people by that difference in occupation, in standards of action, and in letters, which the troubadour expressed in the formula *corteis et villain*.⁶ When we remember that even in the conventional days of the troubadours, the ability to read and write formed no part of a nobleman's training, that Perceval could not read, and Wolfram von Eschenbach, who claimed some familiarity with French, was unable to write,⁷ we may well admit that in an earlier age lay-society must still have been marked to a large extent by that uniformity of intellectual life which ethnology and the comparative study of poetry have shown to be the absolute condition for the universal gift to turn, as Gummere puts it, 'a contemporary event into the rhythm of the communal dance,' in other words, for the production of genuine folksong.⁸ In such a

⁵ See, among others, F. Wolf in his introduction to Rosa Warren's *Schwedische Volkslieder der Vorzeit*, 1857, pp. xiv-xix, and Chadwick in his learned work, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 86, 94, etc.

⁶ See, e. g., Wolf, *Proben portug. u. catal. Volkslieder*, pp. 19-22; Rosa Warren's *Schwed. Volksl.*, l. c.; Lemcke, *Jahrbuch*, 14, pp. 148-150; W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, pp. 7-9; Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 177; *Popular Ballad*, p. 82.

⁷ Cf. A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, I, p. 157, 160.

⁸ See, e. g., the works of Buecher and Gummere quoted I, pp. 17-18; the latter critic in *Pop. Ballad*, pp. 22-25; Bruchmann, *Poetik* (Berlin, 1898), p. 99; Grundtvig in introduction to R. Warren's *Dänische Volkslieder*, 1858, pp. xvii-xxii; G. Paris, *Romania*, 13, p. 617; Comparetti, *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, p. 331.

society, then, any national poetry must be the uniform utterance of the people as a whole rather than the individual expression of only one, and that the most restricted, of its elements.

If this latter element nevertheless plays so prominent a part in the poetry of this period, the reason consequently can not be the one alleged, but must be sought in the fact that, as Gummere has well expressed it,⁹ "the songs produced by such a homogeneous community would naturally put in the foreground of action persons who actually filled the foreground of its life."¹⁰ What, indeed, have we in this trait but an illustration of the poetic law formulated by Aristotle, that epic poetry is an imitation in verse of persons of a higher type, not of the common level?¹¹

Scarcely better founded than the one just examined is the equally popular idea that the primitive form of this poetry of supposed aristocratic origin was that of large compositions. Primarily, this idea appears to be derived from the fact that the epic poems first met with upon the literary record are mostly rather extensive works with more or less amplitude of treatment and artistic merit, whereas the related songs brought to book in a later period are short and less conscious in style. Further support for the idea is found in the a priori assumption that it was only long epics that were suited to the taste of the aristocracy, while brief lays were adapted to the plebeian audiences of a later democratic age.¹² In so far as this view is applied to the case of Castile, its merits will be considered in detail in the chapters dealing with the social conditions of that country,

⁹ *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 177. Cf. also the same author in *Pop. Ballad*, p. 82: "The social group is naturally represented by its leaders, the prince, the knight, the warrior. It is only in very recent developments that the humble or common man is put in the foreground of story and play." And cf. Steenstrup, *The Medieval Popular Ballad*, transl. by E. G. Cox. Boston, 1914, pp. 202-216.

¹⁰ As for the evolution of the chief, the aristocrat, himself, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the observation of Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, 3, 449: "Subordination began when some warrior of superior prowess, growing conspicuous in battle, gathered round him the less capable; and when, in subsequent battles he again, as a matter of course, took the lead."

¹¹ *Poetics*, V, 4; xv, 8, and S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (1911), p. 166.

¹² Such is the opinion expressed, e. g., by H. F. Nitzhorn with regard to the Homeric poems (*Die Entstehungsweise der homer. Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 91); and by A. Lang, *Homer and the Epic*, p. 230; with regard to Castile, by Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero*, pp. 5-6.

and the question of the existence of extensive poems in its earliest period. For the present, a few remarks of a more general character may suffice.

As for the priority in age of literary works over popular specimens of the same genus, we may remind the reader in the first place of the fact that the literary language grows out of a dialect and yet is recorded earlier than this; and in the second place of Andrew Lang's just observation that the "fallacy of supposing that a rite, or myth, or custom, or belief, or romantic incident is necessarily derived from its civilized or literary counterpart, and that popular examples of the same ideas are necessarily later, borrowed, and degenerate, has long been abandoned by anthropologists, and ought not to be accepted by literary students."¹³ Nor is there sufficient reason for thinking that long poems are the only kind of epic poetry suited to courtly hearers. Quite apart from the fact that, as was said above, the diversity of mental development characteristic of a more conventional society did not obtain in the heroic age, we have direct testimony that brief lays were no less favored in the halls of the mighty than long, continuous poems. Ajax and Odysseus find Achilles singing a lay on the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* (Il. 9, 189); at the Phaeacian court, the minstrel Demodocus chants a song on Troy (Od., 8, 43 ff.), and one on the love of Ares and Aphrodite (l. c., 261).

As for ancient Rome, Cicero repeatedly cites the testimony of Cato the elder for the time-honored custom of singing ancestral valor in separate lays. Thus *Tusc. Disput.*, IV, 2:

... gravissimus auctor in *Originibus* dixit Cato morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes; and *Brutus*, 19, 75:

'recte' inquam 'Brute, intelligis; atque utinam extarent illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in epulis esse cantata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in *Originibus* scriptum reliquit Cato.'¹⁴

¹³ Chambers' *Cyclopedia of English Literature*, I, p. 524. Cf. also G. L. Kittredge, *Engl. and Scott. Ballads*, p. xv. On the general question of the degradation theory see Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, p. 95 (§ 50).

¹⁴ Cf. also *Tusc. Disput.* I, 2. This passage, which led me to the discovery of the others, was called to my attention by my colleague, Dr. Frederick Anderson.

The same testimony we have from the fragments of Varro's *De vita Pop. Rom.* (Nonius, 1105), only that here the chanting was done by boys:

In conviviis pueri modesti ut cantarent carmina antiqua, in quibus laudes erant maiorum et assa voce et cum tibicine.¹⁵

As Rome had no literary poetry before the *Annales* (189-169 B. C.) of Ennius, who wrote under the patronage of Cato, we have here a fairly clear case of heroic balladry not to be explained as degenerate art.

In the Beowulf, an heroic song is chanted by one of the king's thanes (ll. 867 ff.), and another, concerning the hero's fight with Grendel, is intoned by the king himself (2105 ff.). Similar evidence is afforded by Roman writers of the fifth and sixth centuries; as by Priscus in his account of a visit to Attila in 448,¹⁶ by Cassiodorus¹⁷ and by others.¹⁸ Furthermore, not all the extant early song relating the deeds of kings and chieftains is in the form of extensive productions, as may be seen, for instance, from the Anglo-Saxon lay of 'Finnsburg' (51 ll.),¹⁹ from the German 'Hildebrand' (71 ll.),²⁰ and from the early Scandinavian lays (850-1100) preserved in the collection known as the 'Older Edda' and dealing largely with the matter of the Nibelungen-epic. Indeed, some of the latter songs, as those of Weland and Brynhild, contain in a summary way a whole history.²¹

When, in addition to this, we reflect that the average length of the 320 songs known as now current among the valiant Serbian people is 873 verses, only fifteen of them having more than 2000,²² we need not wonder that Chadwick thinks it very probable that the

¹⁵ For the annalist Fabius Pictor, and Roman heroic song in general, see K. W. Nitzsch, *Die römische Annalistik*, 1873, p. 242 ff. The custom in question is referred to by Horace, *Carmina*, l. IV, 15, 25 ff.

¹⁶ See K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 4, p. 92.

¹⁷ *Variarum*, II, 40.

¹⁸ See the references given by Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, pp. 84-85. Cf. what is said II, pp. 304-315, regarding the character of the *cantares* or *cantares de gesta* cited by the *Primera Crónica General*.

¹⁹ Cf. Gummere, *Old English Epic*, 1909, p. 159 ff.

²⁰ Cf. W. Scherer, *History of German Literature*, I, pp. 25-27; 50.

²¹ Cf. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, pp. 97, 136-143, and *History of the Ballads*, I. c., pp. 202-205.

²² See Chadwick, *l. c.*, pp. 101-102.

earliest narrative poems were of comparatively small compass.²³ On the other hand, this living heroic poetry of Serbia also indicates that poems of the extent of 4000 lines or more are by no means incompatible with the conditions of oral delivery before popular audiences. The prevalence of a similar state of things in ancient Greece is amply shown by the Homeric poems. These, as Gilbert Murray says,²⁴ are presented to us by History as being "publicly recited not by one bard, but by relays of bards, in fixed order at the Panathenaea, the greatest of all the festivals of Athens, recurring once in four years and lasting several days." However, as no poem of anything like the length of the Iliad and the Odyssey can be sung at a single sitting, the bards on other occasions also recited separate portions of them, apart from their context, choosing for this purpose such incidents as could be readily detached and were interesting in themselves.²⁵ There is absolutely no evidence that this long-continued custom of reciting selected portions of the great epics of Greece, accompanied as it was in each case by the addition of an invocation to a god, resulted in their transformation into a new type of epic poetry in the shape of brief lays.

Analogous conditions were known in mediæval France. In the *Roman de la Violette*, composed before 1225, Guillaume de Nevers, disguised as a minstrel, chants four *laissez* (ll. 3036-3430) of *Aliscans*, without indicating their context,²⁶ while in *Huon de Bordeaux*, a work of over ten thousand lines, which in Gautier's opinion²⁷ it would have taken no less than eleven hours to recite, the minstrel, pleading fatigue, breaks off at line 4,962 with the request to be heard again on the next day. Again, in the *Chanson de Roland* there are transitional passages showing, as Gautier remarks,²⁸ that the poem was so constructed as to permit the minstrel to chant it in detached portions. It is on more or less precise data like these that Gaston Paris based the statement:

Nos chansons de geste, au lieu de se concentrer dans leurs passages les plus énergiques et les plus vivants, se sont délayées dans

²³ *L. c.*, p. 94.

²⁴ *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, 1907, p. 171.

²⁵ See, e. g., A. Lang, *Homer and his Age*, pp. 321-322.

²⁶ See J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, 1, p. 308.

²⁷ *Épopées françaises*, 2, pp. 232-236.

²⁸ *Chanson de Roland*, p. 70.

d'interminables amplifications et se sont perdues, loin du peuple, dans les rédactions en prose. C'était cependant bien l'usage, au XII^e et XIII^e siècle, d'en chanter isolément telle laisse ou telle suite de laisses; mais cet usage se perdit quand les poèmes changèrent de public: il ne pouvait convenir à la place publique, où les chansons de geste avaient passé en sortant des châteaux, et où les jongleurs des XIV^e et XV^e siècles les débitaient pendant des journées entières.²⁹

Yet, with all the wealth of epic production in France from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, with all the practice of the minstrels in reciting episodes from the long poems before the high and the humble,³⁰ there has not been discovered in later tradition one lay that could be characterized as a fragment of an ancient epic. To hear Gaston Paris again:

La vieille matière épique française, par suite de l'affaiblissement de plus en plus marqué de la forme qu'elle avait revêtue, s'est complètement perdue pour le peuple, qui, dans sa poésie lyrico-épique, n'en a conservé aucun vestige.³¹

The closeness with which we have seen reproduced in France the conditions under which the Homeric poems originated in the Greek world, and the richness of epic literature which the peoples of the two countries, separated in time and space, brought forth,³² justify one in considering the poetic practices observed in both as

²⁹ *Légende des Infants de Lara*, p. 26 (= *J. d. S.*, 1898, p. 333). Cf. J. Bédier, *l. c.*, pp. 308-309.

³⁰ See the original and instructive views expressed on the function of the epic by Johannes de Grocheo in his musical treatise written at Paris toward the end of the thirteenth century (edited in *Sammelbände der Internat. Musikgesellschaft I* (1899-1900), pp. 65-130): "*Cantum vero gestualem dicimus in quo gesta heroum et antiquorum patrum opera recitantur. . . . Cantus autem iste debet antiquis et civibus laborantibus et mediocribus ministrari, donec requiescant ab opere consueto, ut auditis miseriis et calamitatibus aliorum suas facilius sustineant et quilibet opus suum alacrius aggrediatur. Et ideo iste cantus valet ad conservationem totius civitatis.*"

³¹ In his excellent work on the *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (Paris, 1889), p. 11, J. Tiersot speaks as though some of the epic matter informing the *chansons de geste* were still sung in scattered lays surviving among the rural folk.

³² For suggestive comparisons between the Greek and the French epic see A. Lang, *Homer and the Epic*, pp. 406-408, and *Homer and his Age*, pp. 289-309. A parallel between the heroic poetry of Greece and that of the Germanic North is drawn by Ker in *Epic and Romance*, pp. 9-10.

exemplifying in principle the order and the processes of epic evolution everywhere.

That the epics of Greece and France were committed to writing—a fact which for France is first noted in Jendeus de Brie's copy of the *Bataille de Loquifer*,³³ shows by itself that they were not popular, but literary productions. In so far as this matter concerns the *Chanson de Roland* or the *Poema del Cid*, more will be said about it further on. Suffice it to say here that a fully developed epic, like the *Iliad* or the *Chanson de Roland*, is characterized as a work of art by such essential qualities as organic unity, dramatic representation of character and dignity of style; it is popular only in the restricted sense that, as Butcher well expresses it,³⁴ "it relates a great action in the contemplation of which the nation recognizes with exultant pride its glorious achievements and ideals," and that, furthermore, all its formal elements, its language, its metre, its style, are the common property of all.³⁵

What now are the circumstances under which the heroic poetry of Castile arose? Are they so radically different from those of Greece, of France and of other countries as to justify the theory of a virtually inverted order of epic processes put forward by some modern critics? These are the questions we shall now attempt to answer.

In so far as the social and intellectual conditions of the heroic age are concerned, what has been said above applies with especial force to the new nation which arose in the northwestern part of the Peninsula out of the followers of Pelayo and the descendants of the Ibero-Romans. The long and intense struggle in which all elements of this people were engaged for their faith and for the reconquest of their native soil from the Moslems, not only made it the duty and privilege of commoner and noble alike to bear arms, but raised to the position of knighthood every one who maintained arms and horse at his own expense.³⁶ Thus, as was observed by Duran, one of the most sober and sagacious of Spanish critics on epic matters, there originated a chivalry different from the one existing in the

³³ See Gautier, *Epopées françaises*, I, p. 215.

³⁴ *L. c.*, p. 354.

³⁵ Cf. II, pp. 305-306, 309.

³⁶ See, *e. g.*, the evidence quoted by Milá, *P.H.*, p. xl.

North of Europe, a chivalry not confined to one class, but the possession of all.³⁷ It was therefore precisely in this earliest period of its history, in its truly heroic age, and not in the days of Juan Manuel and Santillana, as Menéndez Pidal would have us believe,³⁸ that the people as a whole constituted that chivalrous democracy in which the commons shared with the nobility the same religious and political ideals and enterprises, and that the national spirit was formed. The facts here stated are not infrequently referred to, and admitted, even by Milá and his disciples;³⁹ unfortunately, however, with such imperfect apprehension of their real bearing upon the point at issue that Menéndez Pidal cites them in support of the very theory which they obviously refute. Thus, *Épopée*, pp. 43-44, where we read of the period of origins: "Bientôt la Castille se distingue de Léon par une législation municipale variée et novatrice, et par une constitution démocratique de la chevalerie qui, partout ailleurs, était essentiellement aristocratique."⁴⁰ If that is true, as it is, what then is the basis for his main contention that the earliest poetic expression of Castilian society was an essentially aristocratic

³⁷ See *Romancero General*, I, pp. xvi-xx. Cf. Wolf, *Primavera*, p. xlii (= Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 8, pp. lv-lvii); *Proben*, etc., pp. 10-25; Lemcke, *Handbuch der Span. Lit.* (Leipzig, 1853), 2, p. 20 ff.; *Jahrbuch f. rom. u. engl. Literatur*, 4 (1860), p. 148 ff.; also Ríos, *Historia crítica*, 3, pp. 65-66.

³⁸ *Romancero español*, p. 9, a passage cited II, p. 303, note 52.

³⁹ Milá, *P.H.*, pp. vi-vii, 466-467; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 79.

⁴⁰ Statements of like import occur *l. c.*, p. 53, where the insolence of Fernán González as depicted in the *Poema* is characterized as entirely in accord with the manners of his time; p. 54, where, after speaking of the hypothetical epic on that hero as an "échantillon de cette épopée féodale des vassaux rebelles," he informs us that the vigor of the democratic spirit of Castile did not permit the feudal epic to take deep root there; and p. 116, where we are assured that "Le Poème du Cid . . . est national par son inspiration démocratique." These views are directly contradicted, however, in the author's study of the romances dealing with the very Fernán González (*Homenaje a M. y P.*, 1899, I, p. 461): "Esto no quita que el mismo discurso de Fernán González contenga impropiedades y exageraciones notorias . . . y que esté lleno de un espíritu democrático que es extraño en general á la primitiva poesía épica, aristócrata en su fondo" (the italics are ours); and again, *Épopée*, p. 121: "les chansons de geste [by which term are here meant chiefly the Cid-poem and the conjectured epic on the siege of Zamora] étaient donc une poésie féodale, respirant la guerre et les luttes civiles; l'amour, au contraire, était réservé à la poésie courtoise et bourgeoise." How about the pretended epic on Garci Fernández (970-995), which is said to have been chiefly concerned with the two marriages of this personage?

epic which had to change its form to become adapted to Castilian democracy? Moreover, the decidedly democratic character of Castile in its early period manifests itself in other well-known facts. As far as available records go, the Commons were represented in Cortes at Burgos as early as 1169.⁴¹ They were granted extraordinary powers and immunities, superior on the whole to those enjoyed by this order elsewhere in Europe. In consequence of these privileges, the cities of Castile reached a degree of prosperity which alienated from them the sympathy of the other orders of the state, and paved the way for their suppression by Charles V.⁴² It was, again, largely through this ascendancy of the burgher since the very beginnings of Castilian nationality that forms of the indigenous folksong like the *romance* and the *villancico*, already foreshadowed in the Galician *Cantigas de Santa Maria* ascribed to Alphonse X,⁴³ were elevated into the realm of literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁴

In the community of spiritual and political interests between noble and commoner which we have described, there was naturally involved that substantial uniformity of mental development which we found to be a characteristic of lay-society in the heroic age in general. Outside of the clergy, which still adhered to the use of Latin, the art of reading and writing was known to few. The aristocracy, as everything indicates, and the more circumspect Spanish critics fully admit,⁴⁵ was unlettered and rude; in other words, on the same low level of culture as the rest of lay-society. This fact will surprise no one who bears in mind that this class embodied all the freemen able to maintain arms and horse.⁴⁶ In the *Siete Partidas*, a knight is still required to have as his three essential qualities

⁴¹ See *Primera Crónica General*, fol. 344-345; Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, 3, pp. 482-484.

⁴² See, e. g., Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España*, 3, pp. 1-32.

⁴³ Cf. II, pp. 322 ff., 333-334. The views there expressed find full confirmation in the study of the musical character of these *Cantigas* by Collet and Villalba in *Bulletin Hispanique*, 13 (1911), pp. 279-282.

⁴⁴ Cf. II, pp. 308, 314, 321-322. This period will be considered more in detail in a later article.

⁴⁵ See Milá, *Observaciones*, p. 55; *P.H.*, pp. x and 395; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, pp. 42, 45, 79.

⁴⁶ By a law of Alphonse VIII (1157-1214), all freemen of this description were elevated to noble rank. See Lafuente, *Historia de España*, Pt. I, Bk. 2, C. 13.

endurance, power to deal hard blows, and fierceness,⁴⁷ and enjoys with women, minors, farmers and shepherds immunity for ignorance of the law.⁴⁸ The same code expects the ability to read only of kings and royal princes,⁴⁹ knights being enjoined to have the stories of great deeds of arms read to them.⁵⁰ Even in the fifteenth century, when medieval Castile was at the very zenith of literary culture, and when the ability to read had become somewhat more common,⁵¹ reading and writing were far from being a common practice among the nobility. Alonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos, in his answer to Santillana's inquiry regarding the origin and the duties of knighthood, names as regular accomplishments of the knight only proficiency in the use of arms and in the chase, and praises Santillana especially for his reading and studies, regarded

⁴⁷ Pt. II, 21, 2: la tercera [cosa] que fuessen *crudos*, para non aver piedad de robar lo de los enemigos, nin de ferir, nin de matar.

⁴⁸ *Partida* V, tit. 14, l. 31. Cf. also *ibid.*, I, 1, 21.

In this connection, a few examples of the mode of signing used by prominent personages of early Castile will be of interest. They are taken from Feroitin's *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos*:

No. 1 (919). Ego Ferran Gundisalvet et uxor mea Sancia quod fecimus roboravimus et signum crucis ++ fecimus. Five witnesses say: Confirmavi et manu mea + feci.

No. 3 (979). Et ego abba Severus, una cum matre mea Paterna, qui hac cartula fieri iussimus, legente audivimus, et manus nostras hec signoc fecimus ++, et testes ad roborandum tradimus.

No. 10 (1041). Ego Ferdinandus, rex Castelle et Legionis, et uxor mea Sancia regina, quod hanc cartam fieri iussimus, propriis manibus roboramus et confirmamus, et hoc signum ✕ [fecimus], et testibus tradidimus ad confirmandum.

No. 16 (1067). Ego Sancius superius rex memoratus (i. e., Sancho, II, 1065-1072) . . . coram Deo et hominibus et ante testibus signum inieci + et roboravi.

No. 19 (1076). Ego Rodric Didaz (i. e., the Cid) et uxor mea Scemena . . . et ex manus nostras hos signos ++ fecimus et roboravimus.

No. 28 (1116). Ego Ildefonsus Reimondi, Deo gratio rex (i. e., Alphonse, VII) hanc cartam donationis fieri iussi, et hoc signum + meis manibus feci.

No. 29 (1118). Ego Gelasius, Ecclesiae Catholicae episcopus, *subscripti*, Signum manus mee.

⁴⁹ *Pta.*, II, 5, 16 and 7, 10. Cf. with this the requirements for the higher and lower clergy stated *l. c.*, I, 5, 37, and 6, 4.

⁵⁰ *Pta.*, II, 21, 20. The ability to read was, of course, not always accompanied by that of writing. See *Pta.*, VI, 1, 13: Mas si fuesse letrado, e no supiera escriuir, non podria fazer testamento.

⁵¹ The Archpriest of Hita tells us that his servant was able to read, though none too well (c. 1624).

by many as superfluous.⁵² And Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo, in his *Vergel de los Príncipes* addressed to Henry IV in 1454,⁵³ prescribes excellence in the use of arms, in the chase, and in the practice of musical melodies as essential to the education of a prince, not saying one word of reading or writing.

In view of what has been said it will, we believe, be conceded as a well-established fact that the epoch which created the epic legends of Castile and gave them their first poetical rendering is precisely the one in which the people presents itself to us as that homogeneous and unlettered community which in the heroic age of other countries, as of Greece, of the Germanic North, of Great Britain, is known to have furnished the basis for an original and truly national folksong. True, the very existence of such homogeneity, and its important bearing upon the course of a nation's poetical activity are denied by Menéndez Pidal in a line of argument which it may be well to quote:⁵⁴

Pour que se produise dans un pays une poésie qui s'adresse à la nation entière, il n'est pas nécessaire, quoi qu'on en ait pu dire, que la terrible distinction entre lettrés et illettrés soit inconnue dans ce pays. Les données du problème ne tiennent pas à la plus ou moins grande culture des différentes classes sociales.

Il peut coexister, à une même époque, un genre de poésie destiné à toutes les classes sociales, et un autre qui ne s'adresse qu'aux classes cultivées. Un même poète, Lope de Vega par exemple, peut écrire pour tous dans ces comédies et pour une élite dans sa *Jérusalem*.

La distinction entre lettrés et illettrés subsiste toujours, de même que la distinction entre riches et pauvres existe aussi bien dans ces sociétés bienheureuses où les uns et les autres mènent en commun une vie patriarcale, que dans ces nations où les deux classes s'isolent dans un éloignement qui engendre l'oubli ou la haine. En général le divorce est complet entre la classe cultivée et la classe illettrée; elles sont l'une pour l'autre des étrangères qui se méprisent ou s'ignorent. Le poète savant ne s'adresse jamais à ceux dont la culture est inférieure à la sienne, il dédaignerait même de leur plaire; car les difficultés techniques, où il est fier de montrer sa maîtrise, restent hors de leur portée. La classe ignorante, de son côté, a bien aussi

⁵² *Obras del Marques de Santillana*, ed. Amador de los Rios, pp. 490-491.

⁵³ Ed. of Uhagón, Madrid, 1900, pp. 15-16, etc.

⁵⁴ *Épopée*, pp. 3-4.

ses poètes; mais ceux-ci, privés de tout contact avec les lettrés et isolés dans leur manque total d'éducation, ne peuvent produire que des œuvres d'un art vulgaire et infime, qui méritent à peine le nom d'œuvres d'art. Par contre, dans les cas où l'art s'adresse à une nation entière, la distinction entre lettrés et illettrés a beau exister, elle ne constitue pas une cloison étanche; loin de là, les deux classes communient fraternellement dans la recherche du même idéal, dans le sentiment des mêmes enthousiasmes, des mêmes tendances et des mêmes goûts; de là peut aisément sortir une forme déterminée d'art.⁵⁵

What must strike one at once in these statements is the total absence of even an attempt to support them with evidence obtained either from a comparative study of national poetry, as found among races still in the stage of impersonal art, or from what are the known conditions of Castile antecedent to the thirteenth century. If Castilian lay-society of that period was intellectually divided into two classes, as in the days of Lope de Vega, which one of the two was the lettered class? The aristocracy, for whom he assumes the long epics to have been originally written? But no; for only a few pages below⁵⁶ he tells us that the national poems were written in a period of anonymous authorship and barbarism. The commons, then? But how could they have constituted the lettered element at that time, when even to-day sixty per cent. of the population of Spain are illiterate? Nothing, then, can be more palpably futile than the attempt to illustrate the intellectual conditions of the heroic age of Castile by those of the epoch of Lope de Vega. But even apart from this, Menéndez Pidal's treatment of the subject is singularly inaccurate and incomplete. To take up only a few points; if Lope de Vega wrote for an élite in his *Jerusalem*, and for the whole nation in his *comedias*, what can be the meaning of the assertion that the learned poet never addresses the people of inferior culture, that he would even disdain pleasing them? Did not Lope de Vega, as a matter of fact, give the uncultivated Spanish public a

⁵⁵ The first part of these observations calls to mind an utterance by Gaston Paris on the same question in *Poésie du moyen-âge*, 1887, pp. 21-22, though its purport is different. Cf. also J. Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France*, p. 347.

⁵⁶ *L. c.*, p. 7: Les poèmes nationaux sont anonymes ou produits par des auteurs sans aucune personnalité littéraire; ils sont écrits à une époque barbare ou inculte et destinés à être chantés en public.

drama suited to its own taste, whatever truth there may be in the reasons he gives in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* for sacrificing the Renaissance ideas of dramatic art? Is this not the very reason why, as Menéndez Pidal himself remarks further on,⁵⁷ the same *comedia* which Calderon wrote for the obscure burghers of Yepes was later performed before Philippe IV? It is exactly by men of genius like Shakespeare and Lope de Vega, whether they be learned or not, that the creation of a literary art addressing itself to the whole nation is made possible in a period of a highly developed society like that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And for the very reason that the twelfth and preceding centuries did not have, and could not have produced, a Lope de Vega, it is false to say of the author and the public of a work like the *Poem of Cid*, in contrast to learned poets like Lope de Vega, that

il ne dédaigne pas d'employer sa richesse intellectuelle à procurer aux illettrés le plaisir artistique; et voilà pourquoi il produit des œuvres qui plaisent à la fois aux savants et aux ignorants, bien que ces derniers ne réussissent pas à y voir tout ce que les premiers y découvrent.⁵⁸

As for the idea that the appreciation of the technical difficulties of an artistic poem are beyond the reach of the masses, it may be true enough in general; it does not apply very well, however, to the countrymen of Juan del Encina and Lope de Vega, whose taste, as appears sufficiently from the rich variety of metrical forms, both native and foreign, used in the *comedia*, had been exceptionally well educated for higher forms of art by the Church, by popular music and by types like the *cantiga* and the *villancico*.⁵⁹ With regard to

⁵⁷ *L. c.*, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁸ *L. c.*, p. 5. Is it this *richesse intellectuelle* that has produced the epics with crude language and style, and with formless versification? And how does this characterization of their form agree with what is elsewhere called "l'ampleur magnifique des chansons primitives"? We should like to call the attention of the reader to the sane views expressed by Comparetti, *l. c.*, pp. 331-332, on the relations between popular and artistic poetry.

⁵⁹ See, e. g., F. Pedrell, in *Sammelbände der Internat. Musikgesellschaft*, 5, p. 46, and 11, pp. 55-57; and Collet, *Mysticisme musical espagnol au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1913), pp. 137, 141. With regard to Collet's *Mysticisme*, however, attention should be called to the reviews of it by Mitjana, *Revista de Filol. esp.*, 1, p. 334 ff., and Einstein, *Monthly Journal of the Internat. Musical Society*, 1913, pp. 83-84.

folksong, what does the Spanish critic mean by his remarks on the poets of the ignorant class and their work? Is he thinking of those who compose beggar-ballads?⁶⁰ Or rather of the people themselves, among whom spontaneous creation is still an act of every-day life at the present time, and was of course to a far greater extent as we ascend to Lope de Vega and to the *cantigas d'escarneo* forbidden by the *Siete Partidas*?⁶¹ Here is an important distinction which should have been made clear. What, again, are we to understand by those compositions of ignorant poets which are said to be of such lowly nature as hardly to deserve the name of works of art? Is it the charming bits of lyric and narrative song surviving on the lips of the simple folk of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bits which Lope de Vega, as much as any other writer of his day, delighted in weaving into his verse? This at least is what one is allowed to infer when Lope de Vega's insertions of this character are designated as "l'inspiration naïve et rude des humbles."⁶² Or is it compositions like the *saetas*, improvised by the people then, as to-day, during the passage of the *Corpus Christi*? But these also are recognized as of considerable artistic merit.⁶³ Or is it, finally, the lyric of the Spanish people still in elaboration in our times, the most common form of which, the *quatrain*, we have shown to exist in the thirteenth century?⁶⁴ But here, again, it would be difficult to prove that this species cannot lay claim to much aesthetic, if not artistic merit.⁶⁵ If Menéndez Pidal had in mind a poetry of the ignorant class other than the one exemplified in the forms mentioned, he has certainly not made it clear. As the statement above cited stands, it is at variance with well-known facts and principles of literary criticism. That the earliest heroic song of Castile was

⁶⁰ Collet and Villalba, *Bulletin hispanique*, I. c., p. 285, speaks as follows of *Cantiga* no. 189 of Alphonse X's collection: "Cette *cantiga*, répétons-nous seulement, offre un type achevé des *romances de ciegos*." Cf. also the *cantares de ciegos* in Juan Ruiz (*coplas*, 1710-1719, and 1720-1728).

⁶¹ *Pta.*, VII, 9, 3. Cf. Rios, *Historia crítica*, 3, 66-67 and 500-501.

⁶² *Épopée*, p. 213.

⁶³ Cf. Collet, *Mysticisme*, p. 141.

⁶⁴ See II, pp. 333-336.

⁶⁵ Among Spanish critics who attribute some artistic merit to the modern folksong of their country may be mentioned Juan Antonio Cavestany, *Discurso leído ante la R. Ac. Esp.*, 1902, on *La copla popular*, pp. 11-16, and Manuel Fernandez Caballero, *Discurso*, etc., 1902, pp. 17-23.

the creation and expression of all without distinction of class was indeed substantially the view entertained by the foremost critics of a half a century or more ago,⁶⁶ and among others by Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo themselves, the latter expressing himself as follows:⁶⁷ "Aquella poesía . . . era, en verdad, la poesía del pueblo, porque era la poesía de todos, y no había quien dejase de colaborar en ella como autor, como oyente ó como recitante."⁶⁸ Not discerning, however, the real import of their conclusion, the critics just named, swayed no doubt by the prominence of aristocratic personages in the Cid-poem, and by the dictum of Damas-Hinard,⁶⁹ nevertheless held this poetry to be aristocratic by origin and destination. They took it for granted that it consisted of extensive compositions, like the one on the Cid, which in the fourteenth century began to adapt themselves to the taste of the lower classes in the degenerate form

⁶⁶ See, e. g., Duran, *Romanc. Gen.* (1828-1831), I, pp. xl-lxii; Clarus, *Darstellung der Span. Litt.* (1846), p. 133 ff.; Wolf, *Studien*, p. 403; Lemcke, *Handbuch*, 2, p. 10 ff.

⁶⁷ *Antol.*, II, pp. 16-17. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 42 and 79.

⁶⁸ Cf. Milá, *Observaciones*, p. 55: Puesto que los más antiguos cantos, tales como los que celebran al Cid, ó poco despues de su muerte, debían de interesar igualmente que al pueblo a las altas clases iletradas y guerreras; also *P.H.*, pp. vi-x and 395.

⁶⁹ *Romancero espagnol* (Paris, 1844), I, pp. v-vi:

Les premiers monuments de la poésie traditionnelle en Espagne furent sans doute des compositions considérables, des poèmes gigantesques. . . . Plus tard . . . on les brisa, on les morcela, on en sépara les divers épisodes, qui devinrent autant de petits poèmes complets que l'on chanta isolés. . . . De même pour la versification: composés d'abord dans un mètre lourd, grossier et d'une étendue excessive, . . . on leur donna ensuite, en dédoublant ce vers immense, une allure plus leste et plus rapide.

The practical identity of the idea here expressed—the extensive epic with the long verse of clumsy, irregular structure disintegrating into small songs forming a new poetic type—with the fundamental tenets of Milá's doctrine, as well as the fact that the latter's *Observaciones* (1853) already indicate a departure from the belief in the originality of the *romance*-type professed in his *Compendio del Arte poética* (1843), render it very probable, if not certain, that the new conception of epic evolution in Castile came from France. Milá, however, differs from Damas-Hinard in that he took the full trochaic tetrameter, not its hemistich, to be the original metre of the *romance*. This element in his theory he may have obtained from J. Grimm, who, as is well known, introduced the long line in his *Silva de romances viejos* (1815). To this extent Pio Rajna (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, p. 4, note 9) may be right in crediting the German scholar with a determining influence upon the learned Catalan.

of brief cantos known as *romances*.⁷⁰ This theory, as we have seen, is in substance the one advocated by Menéndez Pidal.⁷¹ There is one point, however, and that quite an important one, in which this scholar departs from the course of his predecessors. We refer to the time of the beginnings. While Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo assign these to the twelfth century, the period from which the first documents in the vernacular actually date,⁷² Menéndez Pidal takes the position that the composition of epics in Castilian began as early as the tenth century, and that these poems were written.⁷³

Let us look into the facts of the case somewhat more closely than has yet been done.

It will be conceded, we believe, that Menéndez Pidal's claim implies that the territory known first as Bardulia, then as Castile,⁷⁴ following the reign of Alphonse II of Asturias (791-842), when it was reoccupied by the Christians, had risen to conscious individuality as a nation, and had developed a new vernacular fitted to continue in more vigorous and noble accents the heroic note first struck in Asturias and Leon.⁷⁵ Now, in what stage of development was the language of this territory and of its accretions toward the South in the days of the Infantes de Lara?

With the fall of the Gothic monarchy, Hispano-Latin became virtually the only inherited vernacular of the Christian population of the Peninsula.⁷⁶ Forms of Hispanic Romance appear more and

⁷⁰ See the references given II, p. 338, note 176; also the opinion of Milá cited II, p. 341, note 262.

⁷¹ See the preceding note, and the extract given above, pp. 242-243.

⁷² Milá, *P.H.*, p. 400; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, 265-266.

⁷³ *Leyenda*, p. 38; *Romancero*, pp. 5-6; *Épopée*, p. 7.

⁷⁴ See Sebastian of Salamanca (ninth century), in *España Sagrada*, 13, p. 485; *P.C.G.*, pp. 359a, 376a, 387a.

⁷⁵ Rios, *Historia crítica*, 3, p. 234, and note 1. Let it be remembered once for all that Menéndez Pidal distinctly confines the origins of Spanish epic poetry to that part of Spain which is called Old Castile, to the exclusion of Asturias and Leon (*Romancero*, p. 6). Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 177. See the following note.

⁷⁶ Broadly speaking, it was not until 711 that Hispanic Vulgar Latin became the vernacular of the whole Christian population of the Peninsula. Previous to that time, there was at least one other vulgar tongue in use, that of the Goths. It is well known that until within about sixty years of the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy by the Arabs, the Goths were isolated from the Ibero-Romans by Arianism (to about 600), and by rigid property and marriage laws which pre-

more frequently in Latin public documents of the latter part of the eighth, and of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁷ According to Dozy, there is evidence that at the time of Abderrahman III (912-961)

vented the union of the two races (to about 651). During this period there was therefore practically no social and intellectual intercourse between them, each race clinging to its own language. (This is admitted, *Épopée*, p. 40.) Even between the Catholic and the Arian clergy there was division of speech, as appears from the decree of the third Toledan council (587), which established unity of faith under Catholicism (see, e. g., Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae*, l. v, cap. 15; Rios, *l. c.*, 1, pp. 323-324; 2, p. 281 ff.). It is safe to say, consequently, that only a small fraction of the population of the Peninsula ever spoke Gothic. During the last sixty years of Gothic rule (651-711), when social relations doubtless existed, Gothic influence upon the speech and custom of the Ibero-Romans could hardly have been strong enough to survive the blow of the Arabic invasion, which sensibly reduced the numbers of the race. In no case does that influence, as some suppose (see, e. g., *Épopée*, p. 44), offer in any appreciable degree a parallel to that exercised by the Franks upon the institutions, the customs and the language of the Celto-Roman society of Gaul. The great difference between Gaul and Spain in this respect is sufficiently shown by the fact that the Spanish language has only a comparatively very small number of words of Germanic origin, and that most of these have come to it from France between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries (cf., e. g., Baist, *Grundriss*², p. 882, § 4; Hanssen, *Gramática*, p. 7, § 13). Under the circumstances here briefly recited it seems exceedingly doubtful that such heroic poetry as the Visigoths may have kept alive in the Peninsula in spite of the disintegrative action of a new religion and environment (cf., e. g., Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, pp. 88-89) should have been inherited by Castile, as Menéndez Pidal so positively asserts (*Épopée*, pp. 18-21, 40-44; cf. II, p. 349). We are not informed by him either of the manner of this alleged direct transmission of poetry from the Goths to the Castilians, or of the reason why the legend informing the *romance* of Gaiferos may not have been a later borrowing from France, as were so many others. We cannot, therefore, examine the arguments upon which this theory is based, but must content ourselves for the present with a few questions. If, as is admitted (cf. *Épopée*, pp. 40-42), it was the Asturo-Leonese monarchy that owed its birth to the Gothic nobility, and maintained the continuity of Gothic political and legal ideals, while on the other hand Castile's indigenous tradition was opposed to them, why should the alleged poetical legacy have come to the latter country only, whose existence began two hundred years later? Again, if Castile was the direct and only heir of Visigothic song, and the origins of Spanish heroic poetry belong exclusively to that part of Spain which is called Old Castile (see the preceding note), why were Gothic heroes, like King Rodrigo, and Leonese heroes, like Bernardo del Carpio, not sung at the very beginning of the heroic age of Castile, in the tenth century, but, as Menéndez Pidal contends (*Romancero*, pp. 6-7), only in a much later period, when according to him epic song spread from its narrow Castilian home to other parts of Spain, as to Leon?

⁷⁷ Cf. Rios, *l. c.*, 2, pp. 390-394.

this idiom was familiar to some of the Arabs, even in the higher classes, though as a rule they spurned learning the language of the conquered.⁷⁸ The celebrated Dutch historian characterizes the Hispanic Romance of that time as "cette langue qui n'était plus le latin, mais qui cependant n'était pas encore l'espagnol,"⁷⁹ a view to which one may assent in a certain measure if one considers how difficult the close resemblance of French and Provençal has rendered it to decide with certainty whether the Oaths of Strassburg belonged to the one or the other variety of Gallic Romance.⁸⁰ However this may be, it seems safe to say that in the ninth century more or less marked local varieties of Hispano-Latin must have developed in such regions as Galicia, Asturias and Leon, where Latin tradition had suffered less interruption than elsewhere from Arabic occupation.⁸¹ We may assume that the vulgar speech of these parts was at that time already attuned to the rhythm of communal dance and song, and was being further cultivated for poetical expression by the Latin hymns chanted in unison by clergy and people,⁸² by the influence of France transmitted through the pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela,⁸³ and by the close relations with that country brought about by Alphonse II of Asturias. Yet it would not occur to any one to contend that the Romance speech of those regions served as the instrument of a written poetry, whether lyric or narrative, even at so advanced a date as the first half of the tenth cen-

⁷⁸ *Recherches*³, 1, pp. 86-87.

⁷⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ In the opinion of Suchier (*Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 2, p. 300), the Picard and Walloon dialects were not easily distinguishable in the period of the *Eulalia*.

⁸¹ Cf. what was said I, pp. 21-23, regarding the close relationship existing between Latin metrics, both popular and hymnal, on the one side, and the traditional poetry of Northwestern Spain and Northern Portugal on the other.

⁸² For the close relations between the clergy and the people, see, e. g., the *Historia Compostellana* (in *España Sagrada*, vol. XX), pp. 112, 121, 224, 330, etc. A good idea of the purpose of many of the hymns is given by Isidore of Seville, *De Officiis Eccl.*, bk. I, c. 5 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 83, col. 742): Propter carnales autem in Ecclesia, non propter spirituales, consuetudo est instituta canendi, ut que . . . a verbis non compunguntur, suavitatis modulaminis moveantur. Cf. also F. D'Ovidio, "Sull'origine dei versi italiani," in *Giornale Storico*, 32, p. 22 ff.

⁸³ Pilgrimages to Santiago are attested since 850. See Dozy, *Recherches*², p. 277; A. Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa Iglesia de Santiago*, 2, p. 70. Cf. further *Liederbuch*, p. xx ff.; C. Michaelis, *Canc. da Ajuda*, 2, p. 797 ff.; Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, 1, p. 337 ff.; 3, p. 142, etc.

tury when the Asturo-Leonese monarchy, at the very highest point of its religious and heroic enthusiasm, broke the formidable power of Abderrahman III.⁸⁴ Neither the idiom nor the people had attained to that fulness of growth and historical consciousness which are indispensable conditions for the rise of an epic.⁸⁵

Can it have been otherwise with Castile, whose day dawned two hundred years later? As far as is known, the narrow strip of land called *Castilla* since about 850,⁸⁶ and lying between the Pisuerga in the West and the Alava and Rioja in the East, formed part of the territory, neighboring on Asturias and Cantabria, which the Arabs had assigned to the Berbers. Abandoned by the latter near the middle of the eighth century, it was rapidly conquered toward the end of the same century by Alphonse II of Asturias. Not being able, however, to colonize it all, this monarch contented himself with settling the districts nearest to his original domain, that is, Liebana, Bardulia and probably the town of Leon, the colonists being in all likelihood mostly Asturians.⁸⁷ Fortified under the same monarch, the region named Castile remained subject to the kingdom of Leon until the ascent of Ramiro III (967-982), from whom Count Fernan Gonzalez (933-970) obtained its nominal independence.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ This was fully admitted by Milá, *P.H.*, p. 137, and by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 177:

Ni Alfonso I, el matador de hombres (739-757), . . . ni Ramiro II (930-950) . . . han sido nunca héroes de cantares de gesta, ni siquiera de romances. Para que llegasen a serlo, faltó en el incipiente reino del Noroeste la plenitud de la conciencia histórica; faltó también el necesario instrumento de la lengua llegada a la relativa madurez, y capaz de ajustarse a las exigencias del metro épico, por rudo y bárbaro que le supongamos.

⁸⁵ Heedless of the sane views of Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo referred to in the preceding note, Puyol y Alonso, a disciple of Menéndez Pidal, has quite recently (*La Gesta de D. Sancho*, Madrid, 1913, pp. 55-56) promised to bring to light "vanished" Castilian epics on Alphonse the Catholic (739-757), Fruela (757-768), and Alphonse the Great (848-912), to say nothing of the *Duelo de España* (711).

⁸⁶ See Sebastian de Salamanca, *l. c.*

⁸⁷ Dozy, *l. c.*, I, pp. 118-123.

⁸⁸ That Castile remained under Leonese sovereignty for some time after the death of Fernan Gonzalez, appears from documents like the following, a donation by Ordoño of Leon to the monastery of Silos in 979 (*Férotin, Recueil*, no. 3): Factum privilegium, notum die, IIII feria, VIII idus aprilis, sub era M^a XVII^a, regnante rex Ordonis in Legione, comite vero Garci Fernandez in Castella.

It was chiefly through the victories of this mighty thane that at the end of the tenth century the county of Castile found itself a considerably enlarged and compact territory, reaching from the spurs of the Pyrenees toward the valley of the Tagus, and that, by its more central location, it became a stronger bulwark of Christian Spain than the kingdom of Leon. Now, no one will deny that these achievements, the intensity of the political and religious struggle against the Arabs inherited from the Asturo-Leonese monarchy, and the rising sentiment of jealousy against Leon, had sown the first seeds of a national consciousness in the population of Castile; nor will it be doubted that these events may have lent new vigor and color to its indigenous poetry consisting, we may assume, in inherited forms of local communal song and in such brief lays as, according to an opinion entertained by Milá in his earlier days,⁸⁹ were inspired by the first two centuries of re-conquest. But could these elements, beginning with the middle of the ninth century, have produced the conditions of nationality and speech necessary to develop within a hundred years, an individual heroic song, to say nothing of a full-blown epopee,⁹⁰ deserving the name of Castilian as distinct from Asturian or Leonese?⁹¹ Quite apart from the consideration that even in normal circumstances the birth of a new people and of a new language out of a fusion of different elements requires far more than a century, neither the incessant warfare waged by the counts of Castile with the Arabs, with their Christian neighbors and with each other, nor the insecurity and instability of a population gathered from various quarters and of varying linguistic habits, can have permitted the people to attain within the tenth century to that consciousness of independent individuality

⁸⁹ *Compendio del Arte poética*, pp. 114-115: "Tendrian, pues, unos cantares breves y animados, solaz de sus fatigas, . . . llamarianse al trasladarse al pergamino romances."

⁹⁰ The earliest monuments of this Castilian epopee are described by the terms "la poésie aristocratique, aux vastes proportions" (*Épopée*, p. 158), "l'ampleur magnifique des chansons de geste primitives" (*l. c.*, p. 164).

⁹¹ We confess to not knowing just what is meant by the following account of the Castilian epic (*Épopée*, p. 2): "C'est une matière poétique que de rudes génies créèrent à l'époque la plus reculée de l'art moderne, parfois même à un âge préhistorique." Does this refer the Castilian epic to the Gothic period of Spain? Cf. *l. c.*, pp. 18, 40-41, 44.

which, as has long been recognized, is one of the indispensable conditions for the development of an impersonal folksong into a more stable, conscious, artistic form.⁹² Few will be tempted to argue, as does Menéndez Pidal, that the extensive poems on the two counts Fernan Gonzalez and Garci Fernandez (970-995), and on the Infantes de Lara, the original composition of which he assigns to this period,⁹³ were rude in language, in style, and in metrical structure, and that their production was consequently not out of keeping with its low grade of culture.⁹⁴ In the first place, the Madrid critic disposes of this argument himself by admitting that the primitive form of these hypothetical epics is not known.⁹⁵ In the second place, it must seem clear that, as he establishes a difference between a purely artistic product of a cultivated age, such as the *Aeneid*,⁹⁶ and the *Poem of the Cid*, which he conceives to be a popular epic, he must concede a difference of similar degree between the latter and the short heroic lay or ballad. Now, this difference, as is generally granted,⁹⁷ lies in a greater stability and perfection of form, and in a more highly developed style quite as much as in any amplitude or complexity of treatment. In other words, instead of the obscurity and clumsiness of style and form, with which the theory under discussion is wont to adorn its so-called popular epics, such productions must have a fair measure of that artistic quality which this same theory ascribes to them on occasion.⁹⁸ In fine, with

⁹² See, e. g., G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, pp. 1-3; Lemcke, *Jahrbuch*, 4, p. 150; Comparetti, *l. c.*, p. 329 ff.

⁹³ Thus, *Leyenda*, pp. 37-38; *Romancero*, p. 6; *Épopée*, pp. 12, 115.

⁹⁴ *Leyenda*, *l. c.*; *Épopée*, pp. 4-5, 7. Cf. Milá, *Observaciones*, p. 6; P.H., pp. 406, 409, and the same author's view cited II, pp. 309-310, note 79.

⁹⁵ *Épopée*, p. 12: "Est-il permis de supposer que cette épopée primitive, que nous ne connaissons pas sous sa forme ancienne, soit dérivée de l'épopée française? En aucune façon; bien au contraire, la différence absolue dans la manière de concevoir et de traiter poétiquement les sujets, nous oblige à affirmer l'indépendance primitive de l'épopée castillane à l'égard de l'épopée française."

⁹⁶ See *Romancero*, p. 5; *Épopée*, p. 7. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, Boston, 1907, p. 312, is of opinion that "the gap between the popular ballad and the *Beowulf* is even greater than the gap between the *Beowulf* and the *Iliad*."

⁹⁷ Cf. Ker, *Romance and Epic*, pp. 105, 147; Comparetti, *l. c.*, pp. 331-332; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (1885), pp. 156-158; Gummere, *Pop. Ballad*, p. 266.

⁹⁸ Thus, in characterizing (see above, p. 254) the ancient Castilian epic as that national art which addressed itself to the nation as a whole—usually, as we have seen, it is represented as meant for the aristocracy only—Menéndez Pidal

whatever ambiguity one may employ the terms popular or national epopee, whatever qualities one may regard as peculiar to such productions, whether harshness of expression, abrupt changes of thought or the clash of fierce passion with Christian ideals, such poems cannot, as disintegrative criticism pleads, be composed "en-su más remoto origen por cualquier hombre de viva imaginación, fácil palabra é instinto musical que hubiese sido testigo de un hecho grande ó que por tradición oral lo supiera."⁹⁹ As Comparetti justly observes,¹⁰⁰ and as is recognized in principle by competent literary critics everywhere, a long poem, whether anonymous or not, is the work of an individual, a work of art. It cannot be the product of a rustic, unfettered nature, but is brought forth according to principles which have been insensibly established by usage. And this usage, it need scarcely be said, comes from the natural, collective, impersonal poetry of the folk, a poetry which is quite as much the unconscious creation of man as language itself.¹⁰¹

The question, then, as to whether the Castile of the Infantes de Lara did, or did not, have a national epopee, resolves itself into one not of literary taste, but of evidence, of facts. Some reasons have already been given¹⁰² why at that time the county of Castile was far less prepared for the creation of such an art than the Asturo-Leonese monarchy for which, as we saw above, no experiments of this nature are soberly claimed.

The population of the petty principality of Fernan Gonzalez had barely begun to weave heroic legends of its own; it was still but feeling its way toward independent individuality; it had not yet formed the ideals which seek a higher phase of poetic art for their portrayal. But more than this. Engaged as it was in a bitter struggle

remarks that the poet cultivating it "sought to provide artistic enjoyment to the unlettered who, however, had to leave to the cultured the discovery of all the beauties his work possessed." Or, again, regarding the conjectured poem on the Siege of Zamora we are told (*Épopée*, p. 57): "[La Chanson] joint à une grande valeur archéologique un mérite artistique de premier ordre." Cf. also *l. c.*, pp. 75, 80, and the equally uncertain ideas of Puyol y Alonso, *La Gesta de D. Sancho*, p. 54.

⁹⁹ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. 41.

¹⁰⁰ *L. c.*, pp. 352-353.

¹⁰¹ See the literature cited I, pp. 17-18; II, p. 339.

¹⁰² See above, pp. 261-262.

for independence from the older and more stable commonwealth whence it had sprung, it lost the sympathetic echo which the fame of such personages as the counts of Castile would otherwise have found in the mother state;¹⁰³ it also lost the acquired momentum needed to cooperate with new impulses and circumstances in the movement toward a more developed form of poetry. Indeed, for the attainment of such maturity in the realm of art as is implied in the epics postulated by Menéndez Pidal it is difficult for any one who looks upon a poetic work as something more than the isolated caprice of an excited brain, to conceive of conditions more unfavorable than those obtaining in the Castile of the Infantes de Lara. A glance at the experience of France will make this still more clear.

In that country, the formation of heroic legends begins with the baptism of Chlodovech in 496, attains to its height under Charlemain, and is renewed under Charles the Bald (†877), the memory of whose achievements is said to have been preserved in song belonging to the first half of the tenth century.¹⁰⁴ Of this first heroic period, extending from the very end of the fifth century to the end of the tenth, no monument has come down to us. The epic poems to which the highest antiquity can be attributed are the *Chanson de Roland* and the one on King Louis,¹⁰⁵ which belong to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The heroic age of Asturias and Leon may be dated from 711; that of Castile, at the earliest, from 850, that is, fully three hundred and fifty years after its beginnings in France. The Madrid critic admits, indeed, that the Spanish epic was later than the French,¹⁰⁶ but he nevertheless assigns its first monuments to the

¹⁰³ *Épopée*, p. 53, we read: "*Le Poème de Fernan Gonzalez reflète bien les sentiments d'irréconciliable aigreur qui marquèrent, à cette époque, la rivalité entre la Castille et le Léon.*" Cf. also pp. 39, 42-43, and especially 80, where the important admission is made that "*L'esprit de représailles et d'hostilité qui l'inspire ne pouvait faire du Poème de Fernan Gonzalez un poème national.*" But what evidence is there that it ever existed? On the general question, see the excellent remarks of Gummere, *Pop. Ballad*, pp. 270-271.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. G. Paris, *Manuel*, §§ 15-19.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. G. Paris, *l. c.*, § 22. As for the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, we pointed out before (II, p. 297), that it must be regarded as a didactic rather than an epic work, and that it dates from the second quarter of the twelfth century.

¹⁰⁶ *Épopée*, p. 34.

tenth century. More than this, he represents it as essentially Castilian from its origin, and as committed to writing.¹⁰⁷ The reader is thus asked to credit the tenth and eleventh centuries with the possession of at least one manuscript copy of each of a half a dozen or more extensive Castilian poems. The question here is not whether in a given period, recognized as unlettered, writing in the vernacular may have been applied by some one to the preservation of song, even if there was no reading public. This point may be readily granted. The question which concerns us is whether the mother-tongue of Fernan Gonzalez and his liegemen was Castilian as distinct from Asturian or Leonese, and whether it was fitted for literary use. If the language of the alleged poems is not supposed to have been Castilian in the concrete sense of the term, one naturally desires to know in what respect such poems are entitled to that name. As far as we are aware, these questions remain yet to be answered.

In his Chronicle composed in the reign of Alphonse III of Asturias (866-910), Sebastian of Salamanca complains that his compatriots had not written anything on the history of Spain since the time of Isidore of Seville (+636), and confesses to having based his own narrative entirely on tradition.¹⁰⁸ From Ambrosio de Morales we learn¹⁰⁹ that Oviedo, in possession of forty-one rare codices as early as 882, had no other than Latin manuscripts as late as 1576. It is no less significant that the fifteen Benedictine convents constituting the Benedictine congregation of Castile in the first part of the fifteenth century, had each a handsome collection of Latin codices, but scarcely any Hispanic texts, and none of narrative poetry in the vernacular.¹¹⁰ And we may finally call atten-

¹⁰⁷ *Romancero*, p. 6:

La poesía épica española es en su origen concretamente castellana; castellanos son todos sus héroes primitivos. . . . Los poemas que cantaban á estos héroes fueron compuestos primitivamente en los siglos X, XI, XII, y luego renovados y refundidos hasta en el siglo XV.

See also the extract given above, pp. 242-243; *Leyenda*, p. 38, and *Épopée*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ *España Sagrada*, 13, pp. 477-478. Cf. Dozy, *l. c.*, I, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ *Viaje* (Madrid, 1765), pp. 93-98. Among the ninety localities of Leon, Asturias and Galicia visited by Morales, only a dozen were found to have old manuscripts or printed texts, and none had any in the vulgar tongue.

¹¹⁰ See Beer, *Zur Ueberlieferung altspan. Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 31.

tion to the fact that no evidence of the written use of the vulgar speech of Castile in the period under discussion is known to paleography.¹¹¹

Let us now cast a glance at conditions in France.

In 813, the council of Tours, whose example was followed by other councils, decreed that the priests should put into the vulgar tongue the homilies which they addressed to their flock.¹¹² This, as G. Paris observed, was the beginning of serious literature in the vernacular. Needless to say that such a step would hardly have been taken if it had not been understood that the vulgar tongue had been fitted for the purpose by poetic activity and by its use in private documents. Indeed, the action of the Church was soon followed by the appearance of vulgar texts. The *Oaths of Strassburg* (843) are the first extant example of writing in French. This document was in all probability a vulgar version of a Latin model; and the same may be said of the *Eulalia* of the same century, the oldest relic of French poetry, and of the *Jonas*-fragment, of a hundred years later. These texts are characterized in the first place by orthographic uncertainty and by Latinisms, showing that the written employment of the language was of recent date and still an experiment, and in the second place by the fact that, owing in part to the scarcity of literary documents previous to the twelfth century, their original linguistic form cannot be determined with certainty.¹¹³

If we take as starting-point the Germanic migrations, which removed the obstacles lying in the path of a definite differentiation of Neo-Latin speech into separate national languages, we may say that the formation of French begins in the fifth century and continues without interruption till the appearance of the first written

¹¹¹ See, e. g., C. Rodriguez, *Bibliot. universal de la polygraphia española* (Madrid, 1738); A. Merino, *Escuela de leer letras cursivas* (Madrid, 1780); A. Alverá Delgrás, *Compendio de Paleografía* (Madrid, 1857); Muñoz y Rivero, *Manual* (Madrid, 1889, 2d ed.). Cf. also E. Terreros y Panda, *Paleographia* (Madrid, 1758), p. 21. Menéndez Pidal himself (*Revista de Archivos*, 12, 1904) has not been able to adduce Castilian documents anterior to the thirteenth century.

¹¹² Jean Hardouin, *Conciliorum Collectio*, 4, col. 1023-1024, XVII: Visum est unanimite nostrae . . . ut easdem homilia, quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam, aut in Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quae dicuntur.

¹¹³ Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Littérature française*, 1, pp. lxxvi-lxxx.

documents, official and literary, in the ninth, a period of four hundred years. Yet, with the single exception perhaps of Rajna,¹¹⁴ no critic has credited that early formative epoch with the creation of full-blown epics. What our knowledge of epic evolution elsewhere¹¹⁵ permits us to attribute to the centuries preceding the *Chanson de Roland* is the existence of a popular art tending toward broader conceptions and more stable forms. This view is not without the support of specific evidence. While the eleventh century Latin text known as the Hague-fragment may, as Bédier has recently contended,¹¹⁶ not have the value for the history of the French epic that has been attached to it by some, the testimony of the *Vie de S. Alexis* and of the Provençal *Boethius* cannot be set aside. The metrical structure and the style of these poems are recognized by G. Paris and others¹¹⁷ as reflecting a more or less advanced stage of heroic song in the tenth century. That this opinion is reasonable appears clearly from the prevalence in the *Roland* of the symmetrical treatment of similar incidents and other modes of textual repetition which constitute a distinctive trait of all early balladry.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ *Origini*, pp. 478-485. That Rajna still adheres to this idea of the scale of primitive heroic song, may be inferred at least from his silence (*ROMANIC REVIEW*, 6, pp. 1-41) with reference to the primitive Castilian epics conjectured by Menéndez Pidal, and from his assumption that the latter influenced the form of the *romance* (*l. c.*, p. 41). Morf (*Deutsche Rundschau*, 1900, p. 377) seems to suppose that an indigenous heroic song existed in Spain before the influence of France began to exert itself with the pilgrimages to Santiago, and that it was this indigenous poetry which was developed into epics by the example of the French. Morf gives no hint as to what French epics preceding the *Chanson de Roland* he has in mind, nor as to the idiom in which he imagines his early "Castilian" epics to have been composed, nor yet as to what became of the pre-existent folksong (cf. *l. c.*, p. 393).

¹¹⁵ See above, p. 265, and note 101.

¹¹⁶ *Légendes épiques*, I, pp. 170-172. Cf. Suchier, *Les Narbonnais*, pp. lxvii-lxxxiii, and *Romania*, 29 (1900), pp. 257-259.

¹¹⁷ *Romania*, 13, p. 619. Cf. Rajna, *Origini*, pp. 491-492; and II, p. 298, note 17. Quite different is the opinion of Bédier, *l. c.*, 4, p. 463: Pour constituer le système de versification des premières chansons de geste, n'a-t-il pas fallu que le vers décasyllabe et le couplet sur une seule assonance fussent d'abord maniés et assouplis dès le XI^e siècle par le poète de la Vie de S. Alexis, dès le X^e par le poète du Boèce provençal?

¹¹⁸ See e. g., W. v. Biedermann, *Zur vergleichenden Geschichte der poetischen Formen*, in *Zeitsch. f. Vergl. Litteratur*, N. F. 2, 415 ff.; 4, 224 ff.; Gummere, *Popular Ballad*, p. 90 ff., 116 ff., etc.; W. M. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, pp. 261-262.

Without the basis of a highly developed popular art, there would be no rational explanation for the remarkably rich efflorescence of the epopee in France.¹¹⁹ What we desire to emphasize here, however, is that when that epopee really appears in the reign of Philippe I (1066-1108), it is found to consist, as in ancient Greece, of poems which are works of art, popular only in the sense that they are eminently national by development and by interest.¹²⁰

The formation of the Spanish language which, in general, may also be said to have begun in the fifth century, was greatly retarded in its normal course by the isolation of the Goths from the Ibero-Romans,¹²¹ and by the Arabic invasion.¹²² The idiom of Castile, as an individual variety of Hispanic Romance, cannot, strictly speaking, date its beginnings further back than the middle of the ninth century, a time when, as we have seen, French literature was already in existence. It cannot, therefore, have become the medium of a national form of literary expression within a hundred years from that time. This fact, quite apart from the historical conditions previously considered, is alone sufficient to silence the claim of a Castilian epopee for the tenth and eleventh centuries which we have been asked to accept as "la conquête définitive de la science."¹²³ The reason why we do not have these long poems is not that they were lost, but that they did not, and could not, exist.¹²⁴ With them must of course be abandoned the series of recasts con-

¹¹⁹ Professor Warren, *On the Early History of the French National Epic*, in *Modern Philology*, 14 (1916), pp. 129-144, arrives at a similar conclusion from another line of argument.

¹²⁰ Cf. above, p. 250.

¹²¹ See above, p. 259, note 76.

¹²² Cf. Baist (*Grundriss*, I, p. 879, § 2): "Die Sprachbildung geht nach der arabischen Invasion von der altansässigen Bevölkerung im Norden aus, und die Mundarten bilden hier (mit dem Galicisch-Portugiesischen) eine Kette."

¹²³ See *Épopée*, p. 9; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 7, 38. Some of these "conquests" are now being surrendered. See below, p. 278, note 161.

¹²⁴ Cf. II, pp. 340-341. It is only just to record here, with regard to the main point of our present inquiry, the opinion held by Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, 2, p. xiii):

Creemos firmemente que la epopeya castellana nació al calor de la antigua rivalidad entre Leon y Castilla . . . y que este es su sentido histórico primordial; lo cual no quiere decir que haya cantar alguno que se remonte a los oscuros y lejanos tiempos en que se elaboró la independencia del Condado; ni lengua castellana existía, cuanto menos poesía vulgar.

jectured to serve as sources of the extant old *romances*.¹²⁵ It is only in the days of the Cid that we find preparing that combination of circumstances which was to give to Castile, the dominant and absorbing power of Christian Spain, something of that national glow of life and thought which marks creative epochs of literature. In 1029, on the day when the young count Garcia (b. 1010) was to be married to Da. Sancha, the sister of King Bermudo of Leon (1027-1037), from whom he received the title of King of Castile, he was slain by the sons of the Leonese count Vela. Thereupon, his brother-in-law and guardian, Sancho the Great of Navarre (970-1035), who undertook to avenge him, was recognized as Count of Castile, and having made himself master of part of Leon, succeeded in putting an end to the feud between the two principalities by a matrimonial pact in 1032. Ferdinand, his second son, married the bereaved Da. Sancha and received Castile as independent kingdom. Under this its first king, upon whom in 1037 also descended the crown of Leon with Asturias and Galicia, Castile carried the victorious cross as far as Coimbra, and by her more central position and greater facilities for expansion soon became the nucleus of the united Christian states of Northwestern Spain. It was thus that a stirring sense of individuality and independence was awakened in the people of Castile, a sense which could not but impart new purpose and vigor to the popular balladry which there, as elsewhere, served as the natural expression of a race entering upon historical development.

This sense of nationality attained to its highest point under Alphonse VI (1072-1109) who once more united the three Christian states after a separation of seven years. The conquest of fortified places like Madrid and Guadalajara, but especially that of Toledo and its territory in 1085, added to Castile the center of the Peninsula, and exalted the patriotic sentiment of the people. The host of Castilians, Leonese, Asturians and Galicians fighting under Alphonse's banner was joined by men coming not only from other Christian parts of Spain, but also from France. Partly through these foreign elements, which were retained in the newly acquired

¹²⁵ See Menéndez Pidal, *Homenaje*, I, p. 491 (Reprint, p. 24), and especially *Leyenda*, p. xiv, and *Romancero*, p. 6.

districts by liberal grants of land and other privileges, partly also through the linguistic and poetic traditions of Leon and Asturias, which allowed the national character and circumstances to operate more and more on ground already prepared, the speech of Castile must have received a new impetus of growth, giving it a more individual coloring as well as more definite and stable traits.¹²⁶

We have repeatedly had occasion to refer to the important part played by France in quickening the intellectual life of Spain.¹²⁷ It will now be necessary to consider somewhat more in detail the various forms which this influence took in the first literary epoch of Castile. According to all appearances, it was the monastic reform proceeding from Cluny that was foremost in bringing about an advance in refinement and letters. From the beginning of the eleventh century, we hear of priests from Aragon and Navarre visiting Cluny to study its monastic life. By a decree signed by Sancho the Great of Navarre in 1021,¹²⁸ the reform is introduced in the monastery of Leyre where Sancho had spent his youth.¹²⁹ In 1029, when this monarch became Count of Castile, the rule of Cluny was established there.¹³⁰ How devoted Ferdinand I of Castile and his son Alphonse VI were to Cluny, is well known. During the long reign of the latter, the clergy sent out by that institution were given the highest places in the Church and other important positions. Their example affected every phase of Spanish life. They supported the papacy in forcing Alphonse VI to replace, in opposition to the will of the people and the native priesthood, the inherited Visigothic liturgy by that of Rome (1090), and the Isidorian script by the Frankish (1091).¹³¹ By removing usages

¹²⁶ Cf. Terreros y Panda, *l. c.*, pp. 16-17: "Pero la reconquista de Toledo, hecha por D. Alonso VI, . . . dió nueva y mayor extension a la lengua Castellana, cuya primera juventud, por decirlo así, duró casi dos siglos, hasta entrar en edad de discreción en el feliz Reynado de Fernando III, y en el de D. Alonso el Sabio." Cf. also *l. c.*, p. 25; Rios, *l. c.*, 2, pp. 172, 404-407; 3, pp. 64-65, and Baist, *Grundriss*, I², p. 407, § 24.

¹²⁷ See above, p. 261; I, pp. 28-29; II, 346-347.

¹²⁸ See Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.*, 4, p. 273 ff.; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser* (Halle, 1894), 2, pp. 104-105.

¹²⁹ Sackur, *l. c.*

¹³⁰ Sackur, *l. c.*, p. 108 ff.

¹³¹ See, e. g., Rodrigo of Toledo, *De rebus Hispaniae*, I, vi, c. 26; Mariana, *Historia general de España*, I, ix, c. 6; Lafuente, *Hist. gen. de Esp.*, 5, pp. 308-309, and Rios, *l. c.*, 2, pp. 170, 268, 378 ff.

which had divided the clergy of the Spanish Church, these changes doubtless spread, as Rios remarks,¹³² the cultivation of the liberal arts, and aided the literary development of the vulgar tongue.

The activity of foreign ecclesiastics of superior classical training lent new force to the prestige which Latin had enjoyed as the only instrument of official and literary expression. It revived, among other things, Latin historiography, maintaining it in undisputed sway until the very middle of the thirteenth century in such works as the *Gesta Roderici Campidocti*,¹³³ the *Historia Compostelana*, due in large part to French authorship,¹³⁴ the *Chronica Alphonsi Imperatoris*¹³⁵ and the Chronicles of Lucas of Tuy (—1236) and Rodrigo of Toledo (—1243). It accounts also to a large extent for the use of Latin in the poetical treatment of national legends and personages.¹³⁶ Not to mention traces of a Latin epic dealing with Sancho II and the Cid, an epic which in the opinion of Cirot seems to be reflected in a Latin Leonese chronicle contemporary with the work of the monk of Silos,¹³⁷ we have as evidence of what may be termed the semi-popular Latin poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, employing the forms of the sacred poetry of the time, the elegiac song on Ramon Borrel III of Barcelona (1018),¹³⁸ the fragment of a poem on the conquest of Toledo,¹³⁹ the hymn on the Cid which, as Rios well says,¹⁴⁰ recalls the ancient tradition of the religious hymns sung by clergy and people, the introduction of a song in praise of Ramon Berenguer IV (1137–1162)¹⁴¹ and the well-

¹³² *L. c.*, 2, p. 171.

¹³³ Beside Risco's edition (Madrid, 1792), we now have the reprint of the text due to the care of Foulché-Delbosc (*Revue Hispanique*, 21, pp. 412–459). Cf. Du Ménil, *Poésies populaires lat. du moyen-âge*, p. 287 ff., and Rios, 2, pp. 174–182.

¹³⁴ *España Sagrada*, 20. Cf. Rios, *l. c.*, p. 183.

¹³⁵ *España Sagrada*, 21, pp. 321–409.

¹³⁶ Cf. Rios, *l. c.*, pp. 191–233.

¹³⁷ "Chronique latine léonaise inédite" (in *Bulletin hispanique*, 11, 1909, p. 263): "Le rédacteur de cette chronique a dû avoir sous les yeux quelque poème dans le genre de celui qui est consacré à la prise d'Almería." Cf. *l. c.*, p. 266.

¹³⁸ Printed by Rios, *l. c.*, p. 334 ff.

¹³⁹ Printed in Rodrigo of Toledo, *l. c.*, l. vi, c. xxii. See Rios, *l. c.*, p. 212, note 1.

¹⁴⁰ Printed in Du Ménil, *Poésies pop. lat. du moyen-âge*, p. 308 ff.; Rios, *l. c.*, p. 343 ff.; Bertoni, *Il Cantare del Cid*, Bari, 1912, p. 197 ff. See the discussion of the piece by Rios, *l. c.*, p. 212 ff.; Baist, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 5, 69 ff.

¹⁴¹ Printed in Rios, *l. c.*, p. 347, no. xxiii.

known *Poema de Almería* which, while not intended to be sung like the other texts, is pervaded by a truly patriotic, Castilian spirit.¹⁴²

It was, however, not only into Latin writing, but also into the native vernacular poetry of Spain that the action of France infused new life. Such action, as has already been said, began as early as the tenth century with the pilgrimages to Santiago. Without it, one would find it difficult to understand how the idiom and the poetic types of Galicia and Northern Portugal could have matured to serve as the primitive instrument of an artistic lyric in the Central and Western Part of the Peninsula as early as the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁴³ And in view of the unity of poetical tradition between Asturias, Leon, Galicia and Northern Portugal,¹⁴⁴ it is clear that the lays called forth in those regions by the heroic struggle between the Cross and the Crescent must have been similarly affected by contact with the more advanced balladry of France. It is in all probability in this early period that, as G. Paris suggested,¹⁴⁵ the form *Rodlan*, which must have been the form of the name preceding the Oxford *Roland*, passed into the current Spanish *Roldan*. Now, this older popular influence of France upon Peninsular song became more conscious and systematic in the course of the eleventh century, when Castile placed herself under the tutelage of Cluny. The Chronicle of Turpin, the composition of which falls in the period between 1126 and 1160, and may have been inspired by Cluny, is the earliest direct evidence we have of the introduction of the French epic into Spain.¹⁴⁶ Attention has already been called¹⁴⁷ to the ancient practice of the clergy and the people of Spain to sing hymns in unison on festal occasions. This intimate relation between sacred poetry, the poetry of the Church, on the one

¹⁴² Contained in *España Sagrada*, 21, pp. 399-409. See the discussion by Rios, *l. c.*, pp. 219-228.

¹⁴³ See I, p. 21 ff.

¹⁴⁴ See I, pp. 19-23.

¹⁴⁵ *Histoire poétique*, p. 204. In Provençal *Rotlan* is the old and regular form; in Gallego-Portuguese *Roldan*, as, e. g., in *Canc. Vat.*, 1066, a poem of the thirteenth century.

¹⁴⁶ See the instructive discussion of this document by Bédier, *Annales du Midi*, 1911.

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 261.

hand, and the daily life of the people on the other, shows itself also, as Rios remarks,¹⁴⁸ in the community of purposes subserved by the municipal *fueros* and the local hymns. And as the sword followed the cross in the struggle of centuries, the secular Latin poetry, that poetry which commemorated legends and events interesting the whole nation, followed in the footsteps of sacred song. Employing as it did the forms of the hymns, it served in its turn as the model for the native poetry in the vernacular whose interests it shared. Nothing can illustrate better this indebtedness of vernacular song to the Latin hymns than the *Cantigas de S. Maria* ascribed to Alfonso X, some of which, as has already been pointed out, foreshadow the *villancico* and the *romance* as they appear on the literary record of the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁹ As is well known (though overlooked by many), the great majority of the 418 poems called *Cantigas* are narrative songs, only sixty being lyrical. It is, therefore, as will be shown more in detail on a later occasion, chiefly in matters of form, as in the mastery of metre and strophe, that the development of the indigenous folksong was aided by its more cultivated Latin sister.¹⁵⁰ And there can be nothing more erroneous, nothing more contrary to well established facts characteristic of the early musical training of the Spanish people¹⁵¹ than the theory so tenaciously asserted and reasserted, that the heroic song of Castile had no well-defined, regular versification at its command previous to the fourteenth century, and that the metrical disorder of the extant text of the *Poem of the Cid* is an example of such technical immaturity.¹⁵²

There remains to be considered still another and no less important effect, which the advent of French ecclesiastics had upon

¹⁴⁸ *L. c.*, v. 2, p. 202.

¹⁴⁹ Regarding the question of French influence in the *Cantigas*, Collet and Villalba (*Bulletin hispanique*, 13, p. 286) express themselves as follows: "Plutôt que dans la structure, l'influence française se remarque dans le *mélос* de quelques *cantigas*."

¹⁵⁰ This is, of course, not to say that the hymns were not, in their turn, to a large extent indebted to the forms of popular poetry. As a matter of fact, recent investigation in the history of music has led to the conclusion that the Church introduced in its liturgy popular songs, or songs based upon popular melodies, and that these were also used in the musical art of the troubadours.

¹⁵¹ See above, p. 256, and note 59.

¹⁵² See I, p. 18; II, pp. 295-303.

poetical activity in Castile. This is the beginning of literary composition in the vernacular.

In the twelfth century, that is, in the period when the Castilian people had attained to full consciousness of their individuality, France was cultivating two kinds of poetry in the vulgar tongue, the national epic, and religious and other didactic composition in the single-rhyme quatrain of Alexandrine lines. Both kinds soon became known to the clerical circles of Castile which then almost exclusively constituted the lettered class. It was natural that religious poetry, so well suited to the national character, should appeal to the clerics particularly as a model for imitation. And many of them, without doubt, resorted to writing in their mother-tongue with all the more readiness as they found themselves unable to meet the high standard of Latinity set for them by the monks of Cluny. This much is revealed to us in the candid confession of Gonzalo de Berceo in his *San Domingo de Silos* (copla 2) :

Quiero fer una prosa en romance paladino,
En qual suele el pueblo hablar a su vecino;
Ca non so tan letrado por fer otro ladino.
Bien valdra commo creo un vaso de bon vino.¹⁵³

In these words we have an authentic testimony not only of one of the motives of the time for using the vernacular for literary purposes, but also of the comparative novelty of this practice. As regards the latter point, this testimony of the *mester de clerecía* is supported by other no less significant facts which it would be idle to mention here but for their singular neglect on the part of those who assign the beginnings of extensive composition in the speech of Castile to the second half of the tenth century. One of these facts is the simplicity of form and feeling which marks the essays in artistic writing by Berceo and his contemporaries.¹⁵⁴ Another, the Latinisms and the orthographic uncertainty noticeable in earlier imitations of foreign models, such as the *Auto de los Reyes*

¹⁵³ The inability of many of the Spanish clergy in that period to speak Latin is the subject of a disciplinary measure adopted by the council of Valladolid of 1228 (see *España Sagrada*, 37, p. 217).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. e. g., Rios, *l. c.*, 3, pp. 233-234, 238; Wolf, *Studien*, pp. 62-63; Baist, *Grundriss*, II², pp. 402-403; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 2, pp. xxxii, xlv ff.

magos.¹⁵⁵ Still another, that it was only in the reign of Ferdinand III (1230-1252) that Castilian was adopted in place of Latin as the language of the royal chancellery, while the Leonese dialect served this purpose nearly a century earlier in the *fueros* of Oviedo (1145) and Avilés (1155).¹⁵⁶ Lastly, the earliest literary prose in Castilian belongs, as is well known, to the second half of the thirteenth century, which is in perfect harmony with the fact observable wherever we have any record of literary evolution, namely, that prose, as a conscious form of artistic expression, is the younger sister, if not the daughter, of poetry.

In Portugal, the earliest verse dates from the last decades of the twelfth century¹⁵⁷ and the earliest extant prose from the beginning of the fourteenth.¹⁵⁸ In France, literary prose in the strict sense of the term appears toward the end of the twelfth century, in Provence in the thirteenth, its use having been considerably retarded in both regions by the mighty flow of varied narrative and lyric verse. In Italy, to cite one more case, the oldest extant work of the Sicilian lyric dates from about 1220,¹⁵⁹ while literary prose is first represented by the letters (1260) of the troubadour Guittone del Viva which, as Gaspary remarks, still betray some dependence

¹⁵⁵ The differences of opinion expressed with regard to the language of the *Poema del Cid* will be considered later.

¹⁵⁶ The *fueros* of Oviedo (1145) and of Avilés (1155) were published together by A. Fernández Guerra (Madrid, 1865). Menéndez Pidal, *El dialecto leonés*, p. 8, considers the *fuero* of Avilés the oldest example of Asturian, and the most important of the two *fueros* from the linguistic point of view. Not so Beer (*Zur Ueberlieferung*, p. 28, and note 1), who on the contrary is inclined to regard the *fuero* of Avilés as a forgery in view of the fact that none of the documents of the twelfth century contained in Muñoz y Rivero's collection has the same script. Cf. Hanssen, *Gramática española*, p. 9, § 20. According to Staaff, *Dialecte léonais*, p. 177:

Les chartes royales sont jusqu'à l'époque d'Alphonse le Savant écrites en Latin et n'ont même après cette époque nul intérêt au point de vue dialectologique. Quant aux documents ecclésiastiques, ils commencent à la même époque à être rédigés en espagnol. Dans les chartes privées, au contraire, le latin cède de bonne heure à la langue populaire. Les chartes du XII^e siècle offrent un mélange de latin et de passages espagnols ou presque espagnols.

¹⁵⁷ See the references given by the writer in *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, 32, p. 129, note 4.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Carolina Michaelis, *Grundriss*, II², p. 207 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Still older lyric verse in Italian is contained in two poems of the Provençal singer Raimbaut de Vaqueiras written before 1202. Cf. Gaspary, *Storia della Letteratura italiana*, I, pp. 47-48.

on poetic usage.¹⁶⁰ We see, then, that as a rule literary prose in the vernacular makes its appearance not later than within about a hundred years of literary verse. According to this, therefore, the rise of the vernacular of Castile into the realm of letters may be reasonably expected about the middle of the twelfth century, in other words, precisely at the time to which the earliest extant poetic documents belong and from which, with few exceptions, all students of Spanish literature have dated it.¹⁶¹

(To be continued)

ERRATA TO ARTICLE II

Page 302, note 46, l. 2, supply "edition" before "Madrid, 1861."

311, l. 6 from below, read "on Conde" for "in Conde."

313, l. 17 from above, supply "second half of the" before "eleventh."

323, l. 6 from below, read "Asturias" for "Asturia."

328, l. 13 from above, put comma after "niño."

332, l. 12 from above, read "the spiritual ballads of Alphonse X" for "these."

334, l. 17 from above, read "anywhere" for "anwhere."

338, l. 3 from below, read "Spain" for "Castile."

340, note 254, l. 1, read "unhistorical" for "historical."

¹⁶⁰ *L. c.*, p. 139.

¹⁶¹ It is irrelevant to our question whether Menéndez Pidal characterizes the productions of his alleged national epopee of the tenth and eleventh centuries as extensive epics, or whether, as in his recent discussion of these matters (*Revista de Filología española*, 1916, vol. 3, no. 3), he admits a considerable reduction of the proportions of one or more of them by saying (*l. c.*, p. 242, note 4):

El "romanz" del Infante García creo que era, según indico adelante de pasada, un poema corto, una especie de romance juglaresco, no tradicional, ni épico-lírico. Los cantares de Bernardo creo que eran poemas extensos.

In a later part of the same article (p. 269) he announces the following as his general principle:

El romance tradicional se deriva de una narración poética en estilo por lo general más amplio y circunstanciado, ora de una gesta, ora de un romance juglaresco, erudito, artificioso, vulgar o como quiera que sea. Las pruebas que damos para una de estas derivaciones apoyan indirectamente la otra, pues todas concurren armónicamente a mostrar que el romance tradicional no es un producto originario, sino una derivación de la obra de un poeta, que escribe por lo general en otro estilo más propiamente narrativo.

LOPE DE VEGA AND THE PRAISE OF THE SIMPLE LIFE

IN the *Hijo Pródigo* of Lope de Vega, which first appeared in *El Peregrino* (Seville, 1604), the lyric passage beginning "Cuan bienaventurado"¹ is called by Menéndez y Pelayo "una paráfrasis del *Beatus ille* de Horacio."² On closer examination it is evident that the passage in question is not imitated directly from Horace but from Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León. It is in the form of the "lira." By "lira" we mean the grouping of verses of seven and eleven syllables into stanzas of from five to seven lines. The name comes from Garcilaso's poem beginning:

Si de mi baja *lira*
tanto pudiese el son, que en un momento
aplacase la ira
del animoso viento,
y la furia del mar ye el movimiento. . . .³

Garcilaso was the first poet in Spanish to use this verse-form in treating the general motif of praise of the country life, and it was adopted as the best form of Horatian imitation by the most celebrated of the imitators, Fray Luis de León.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that Lope knew Garcilaso and his work. Aside from the fact that Lope was born some nineteen years after Garcilaso's poems were published, he mentions him a number of times in the *Laurel de Apolo* as the "divino Garcilaso," "el claro Garcilaso de la Vega,"⁴ and refers to him in many other passages. Did Lope also know the work of Fray Luis? It is true that Fray Luis' works were not published in full until 1631, but we know that "el Brocense" published along with his annotations to Garcilaso in 1574, three odes and the epode of

¹ Lope de Vega, Real Academia ed., ii, p. 66.

² Lope de Vega, Real Academia ed., ii, p. xliii.

³ Garcilaso, *Obras*. Ediciones de *La Lectura*, p. 197.

⁴ Rivadeneira, vol. xxxviii, p. 188 et sq.

Horace beginning "Beatus ille," all translations by Fray Luis.⁵ We know too that Lope knew of the work of Fray Luis, for in the prologue of *El verdadero amante* composed probably when the author was twelve years old⁶ and later dedicated to his son, Lope says, speaking of those poets who excel in the use of their native tongue: "el Petrarca en Italia, el Ronsardo en Francia y Garcilaso en España; a quien también deben sus patrias esta honra; y lo sintió el celestial ingenio de fray Luis de León que pretendió en ella." Further, in the *Laurel de Apolo*,⁷ Lope speaks thus of Fray Luis:

¡Qué bien que conociste
el amor soberano,
augustino León, fray Luis divino,
oh dulce analogía de Augustino. . . .

It is very evident too that Lope's appreciation for the poets of his own day was such as to make it quite possible for him to have borrowed from one of them rather than from a Latin original, for in *El Cardenal de Belén*, which appeared in 1620, Lope praises the modern poets those who are living, as against the ancients:*

Notables palabras de aquel filósofo contra los que piensan que no se puede alabar ni estimar lo que habemos conocido y tratado y que solo es digno de fama lo que no vimos ni conocimos . . . ¡ Desdicha humana, remitir precisamente la fama para el sepulcro, donde callando la lengua, hablen los mármoles, y que lo que se merece en vida, se reserve para la muerte cuando el que no vió ni conoció al que escribe (y él tenga tan poco que le agradecer como quien ya no siente) haga tan diferente idea de su rostro! . . . ¿Por que no gozará de la fama en vida quien la merece muerto? . . . ¿Qué objeción puede ser haber nacido en este siglo?

¹ Compare now the poems of Lope in which he praises the joys of the country and the simple life with similar poems of Garcilaso and Fray Luis and it will be clear that in such poems Lope does not imitate Horace but these two predecessors, and a filiation from Garcilaso through Fray Luis to Lope can be established.¹

⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Horacio en España*, i, p. 14.

⁶ Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 97.

⁷ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxviii, p. 200, "Silva iv."

* Lope de Vega, Real Academia ed., v, p. 153.

Beginning with Garcilaso, probably the most famous is the poem found in the second eclogue:⁸

¡Cuán bienaventurado
aquel puede llamarse
que con la dulce soledad se abraza,
y vive descuidado,
y lejos de empacharse
en lo que al alma impide y embaraza!
No ve la llena plaza,
ni la soberbia puerta
de los grandes señores . . .

A la sombra holgando
de un alto pino o robre,
o de alguna robusta y verde encina,
el ganado contando
de su manada pobre . . .

Convida a dulce sueño
aquel manso ruido
del agua que la clara fuente envía
y las aves sin dueño
con canto no aprendido
hinchén el aire de dulce armonía;
háceles compañía
a la sombra volando,
y entre varios olores
gustando tiernas flores,
la solícita abeja susurrando;
los árboles y el viento
al sueño ayudan con su movimiento.

Further on in the same Eclogue there are other lines which are echoed in Fray Luis:

Y en medio aquesta fuente clara y pura . . .⁹
a la pura fontana fué corriendo . . .¹⁰
la fuente clara y pura murmurando
nos está convidando a dulce trato . . .¹¹

⁸ Garcilaso, *Obras*. Ediciones de *La Lectura*, p. 29 et sq.

⁹ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 48, line 443.

¹⁰ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 49, line 476.

¹¹ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 85, line 1152.

In the Canciones, note also the following:

Con un manso ruido
de agua corriente y clara,
cerca el Danubio una isla, que pudiera
ser lugar escogido
para que descansara
quien como yo esté agora, no estuviera . . .¹²

el fiero Marte airado
a muerte convertido,
de polvo y sangre y de sudor teñido . . .¹³

In the same Eclogue, the same idea with the repetition of the word "bienaventurado" found in the second Eclogue, occurs again:

Oh bienaventurado que sin ira,
sin odio, en paz estás, sin amor ciego . . .¹⁴

Of all the imitators of Horace, the foremost was Fray Luis de León and his best known poem is the *Qué descansada vida*. In this as well as in some other poems of Fray Luis there are not only evident traces, but also borrowings, of phrases and expressions from Garcilaso. Let us remember that Garcilaso died in 1536 and that his poems were published seven years after his death by the widow of his friend the Poet Boscán—published, that is, when Fray Luis was about sixteen years old. Consequently there can be little doubt that Fray Luis knew Garcilaso's work. A citation from the *Qué descansada vida* shows plainly the influence of Garcilaso. The text is that of Professor Federico de Onís:¹⁵

Que no le enturbia el pecho
de los soberbios grandes el estado . . .

Despiértlenme las aves
con su suave canto no aprendido . . .

Vivir quiero comigo,
gozar quiero del bien que debo al cielo,

¹² Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 183, line 1 et sq.

¹³ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 198, line 13 et sq.

¹⁴ Garcilaso, *Obras*, p. 158, line 289 et sq.

¹⁵ *Revista de Filología Española*, tomo ii, 1915, p. 250 et sq.

a solas, sin testigo,
libre de amor, de celo,
de odio, de speranza y de recelo. . . .

desde la cumbre ayrosa
una fontana pura
hasta llegar corriendo se apresura; . . .

El ayre el huerto orea
y ofrece mill olores al sentido;
los árboles menean
con un manso ruido
que del oro y del cetro pone olvido. . . .

tendido yo a la sombra esté cantando. . . .

A la sombra tendido,
de yedra y lauro eterno coronado, . . .

Not only in this poem but also in others of Fray Luís there are verses reminiscent of Garcilaso.

y el fiero Marte airado
el camino dejó desocupado, . . .¹⁶

Es bienaventurado
varón el que en concilio malicioso
ni anduvo descuidado, . . .¹⁷

¹ By examining Lope's poems on the *Simple Life*, it will be seen that his source of inspiration is not directly Horace, as Menéndez y Pelayo thinks, but Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León. The poem in question found in the *Hijo Pródigo* follows:*

¡Cuán bienaventurado
justamente se llama
aquel que como yo contento vive,
aquel que con su hacienda
5 alegre en pobre casa
no envidia los alcázares pomposos

¹⁶ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 17.

¹⁷ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 45.

* Lope, Real Academia ed., II, p. 66.

- de los soberbios principes,
no los jaspes y mármoles,
no los dorados techos,
10 no los suelos de pórvido
ni sus mesas espléndidas y llenas
de diversos manjares,
que despueblan las tierras y los mares.
 Cuál hay que por oficios
15 de la propia república
bebe los vientos, las estrellas cansa,
los pajes y porteros
tiene ya tan mohinos
que hasta las mismas puertas le conocen.
20 Cuál para la defensa
de sus confusos pleitos
solicita al letrado,
y el letrado sus libros,
y el jüez los escucha y todos juntos
25 sin descansar trabajan
para subir por donde algunos bajan.
 Cuál sigue al fiero Marte,
y honrado de su herida,
la seca sangre al Rey presenta fresca.
30 Cuál vive con lisonjas;
cuál, fingiéndose hipocrita,
el corazón en dignidades baña;
cuál se queja de todos;
cuál de todos murmura.
35 ¡Oh vanidad del mundo!
¡Oh gran casa de locos!
¡Oh cuerdo yo, que en soledades vivo,
señor de mi ganado,
no envidioso jamás, siempre envidiado!
40 Ríndenme aquí los montes
su leña en el invierno,
sus sombras y frescura en el verano,
su cristal estas fuentes,
su fruto aquestos árboles,
45 estos sembrados sus espigas rojas,
su lana estas ovejas,
sus flores estos campos,

- sus peces estos ríos,
estas aves su música.
50 Dichoso yo que de la envidia lejos,
sin servir a ninguno,
ni vivo importunado ni importuno.

Comparing this poem of Lope's with the *Beatus ille*, it is readily seen that, but for the general idea of the praise of the country life, there is really no direct imitation or translation of the Epode of Horace. But on the other hand, compare it with Garcilaso in the first place and then with Fray Luis de León. Not only does the same general motif persist but reminiscent phrases and expressions occur which recall both of these predecessors.¹

The first two lines in the above poem of Lope are practically the same as the following from Garcilaso already quoted:

Cuan bienaventurado
aquel puede llamarse . . .¹⁸

This phrase "Cuan bienaventurado," which in poems praising the simple life is found first in Garcilaso, occurs frequently in Lope. It is not a literal translation of the Horatian epode (which, by the way, is translated by Fray Luis "Dichoso el que de pleitos alejado"),¹⁹ and it is scarcely probable that by pure chance Lope hit upon the same phrase as Garcilaso. Evidently it is imitated directly. Compare also with line 7 of Lope the following two lines with exactly the same idea from Garcilaso:

ni la soberbia puerta
de los grandes señores . . .²²

and line 37 of Lope with Garcilaso's

que con la dulce soledad se abraza,
y vive descuidado, . . .²³

¹⁸ Garcilaso, *Obras. La Lectura*, p. 29.

¹⁹ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 37.

²² Garcilaso, *La Lectura*, p. 30.

²³ Garcilaso, *La Lectura*, p. 29.

Compare with lines 7 to 11 of Lope's poem the following from Fray Luis:

Que no le enturbia el pecho
de los soberbios grandes el estado,
ni del dorado techo
se admira, fabricado
del sabio moro, en jaspes sustentado . . .²⁴

And also the following:

Aunque de marfil y oro
no está en mi casa el techo jaspeado
con la labor del moro,
ni las vigas de Himecia sustentado
columnas muy labradas . . .²⁵

And with the first few lines from Lope's poem compare the following from Fray Luis:

Es bienaventurado
varón el que en concilio malicioso
no anduvo descuidado . . .²⁶

Also,

El cual (i. e. el consultor) . . .
del campo a la ciudad por mal llevado
llama sin esperanza
del bucy y corvo arado
a la ciudad, no bienaventurado . . .²⁷

As to other poems of Lope beginning with "Cuan bienaventurado," there are four of them. They are to be found in *Los Tellos de Meneses*, *Los Pastores de Belén*, *Comedia de Bamba* and a poem in *El Villano en su Rincón*²⁸ which begins with the "Cuan bienaventurado" phrase but treats not of the simple life but of the classical idea found in Greek tragedy,—“how happy a man is cannot be told until he is dead.”

²⁴ *Que descansada vida*, ed. of Onís, *loc. cit.*, p. 250.

²⁵ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 31, Oda, xviii, lib. ii.

²⁶ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 45, Salmo Primero.

²⁷ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxvii, p. 15, Del Mundo y su Vanidad.

²⁸ Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxiv, p. 154.

In *Los Tellos de Meneses*²⁹ the lyric recited by Tello el Viejo is as follows:

Cuán bienaventurado
puede llamarse el hombre
que con obscuro nombre
vive en su casa, honrado
de su familia, atenta
a lo que mas le agrada y le contenta.

Sus deseos no buscan
las cortes de los reyes
adonde tantas leyes
la ley primera ofuscan
y por el nuevo traje
la simple antigüedad padece ultraje . . .

Yo salgo con la aurora
por estos verdes prados . . .

Miro con el cuidado
que salen mis pastores;
los ganados mayores. . .

Y, como en ellas ojos,
frutas entre sus hojas,
blancas, pálidas, rojas,
del verano despojos,
y en sus ramas suaves
canciones cultas componer las aves.

In the *Pastores de Belén*, written probably in February, 1612,³⁰ is found Lope's *canción*:*

¡Cuán bienaventurado
aquel puede llamarse justamente
que sin tener cuidado
de la malicia y lengua de la gente
a la virtud contraria,
la suya pasa en vida solitaria!

Dichoso el que no mira
del altivo señor las altas casas
ni de mirar se admira
fuertes columnas oprimiendo basas

²⁹ *Obras*, Real Academia, vol. vii, p. 308.

³⁰ Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 201.

* Rivadeneyra, vol. xxxviii, p. 346.

en las soberbias puertas
a la lisonja eternamente abiertas. . . .

Dichoso el que, apartado
de aquellos que se tienen por discretos
no habla desvelado. . . .

Dichoso pues mil veces
el solo que en su campo, descuidado
de vanas altiveces,
cuanto rompiendo va con el arado
baña con la corriente
del agua que distila de su frente. . . .
y allí, cantando de diversos modos,
de la extranjera guerra
duerme seguro y goza de su tierra . . .

In the *Comedia de Bamba*,³¹ the same motif of the "Simple Life" as well as the usual beginning "Cuan bienaventurado" is again found:

¡Cuan bienaventurado
es el que vive en su sabroso oficio,
remoto y apartado
del traje y del bullicio
do las maldades hacen su ejercicio!
Entre ellas no se ofusca,
sino la soledad dichoso busca.

No ve del gran Monarca
los vestidos famosos de escarlata,
sino una tosca abarca
que al pie le liga y ata;
no sabe qué color tiene la plata,
por más que al Rey le sobre,
ni señas sabrá dar del bronce o cobre.

Entre paredes pardas
entapizadas de frondosas hiedras,
cubiertas de mil bardas,
como en paja la serba,
la honra amada con razón conserva,
y la tiene muy cierta
no como el cortesano, a puerta abierta.

³¹ *Obras*, vol. vii, p. 51.

No ve los homenajes
ni los soberbios y altos torreones
que de sus tres linajes
son eternos blasones,
sus águilas, castillos y leones;
ni ve del Rey la cara
ni besa del señor la mano avara.

Ténganse allá los reyes
su reino poderoso,
que yo con mis dos bueyes
me hallo más ufano
que si fuera señor del suelo hispano,
al lado de mi Sancha,
que ni mi honor ofende, ni lo mancha.

Estése allá en su sala,
hasta que llegue la ligera muerte
que a todos nos iguala,
haciendo en el rey suerte,
como en el pobre su guadaña fuerte;
que sólo la mortaja
ser de ruán o anjeo es la ventaja.

In conclusion, it is evident that in those poems where Lope treats of the "Simple Life" he is influenced not directly by Horace as Menéndez y Pelayo says, but by Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León. Not only in the general idea but in the particular phrases and forms of expression as well as in the verse form, the "lira," the influence of these two poets on Lope is apparent. It is certainly highly improbable that Lope should have hit upon the same metrical form and similar phraseology by mere accident. His poems dealing with the simple life may indeed be regarded as paraphrases of Horace but paraphrases which come from Horace indirectly and through Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de León directly.

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GONTIER COL AND THE FRENCH PRE-RENAISSANCE.
PART SECOND:—LITERARY ANTIPATHIES AND
PERSONAL SYMPATHIES

(Continued from p. 165)

IV.—THE QUESTION OF THE *Curial*

In the same Tours Manuscript that contains Col's letter to Ambrosius de Miliis, blaming him for his behavior to Monstereul, and two letters of the Italian Humanist to Col,¹ is also found the unsigned Latin letter *De Vita Curiali*, that most critics consider the Latin text of Alain Chartier's *Curial*.² The letter has nothing by which to identify it, save the following descriptive note:³ "Actum ambasie die secunda februari anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto." The only important deduction from the above is that it was written before 1425. The letter has been reprinted by Martène in his *Amplissima Collectio*,⁴ with a heading not in the Tours MS. "Ambrosio de Miliis ad Gontherum," and the date 1435 instead of 1425. Collon⁵ considers this an "attribution douteuse," although it is warmly championed by Heuckenkamp and accepted by Groeber.⁶ The German savant had not seen the Tours MS., which he thought was probably lost,⁷ and so bases his theory on the probability (although he admits the contrary possibility) that the "Ambrosius de Miliis ad Gontherum" heading was to be found in the Tours MS., which did not prove to be the case. This of course weakens Heuckenkamp's point that Chartier did not

¹ MS. No. 978.

² A. Piaget, *Le miroir aux Dames*, Neuchâtel, 1908, pp. 25-26; *Romania*, vol. xxx, pp. 45-48; p. 393, n. 2.

³ *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, No. 37, Tours, p. 703.

⁴ II, c. 1459 seq.

⁵ *Cat. Gén.*, p. 703.

⁶ *Le Curial*, Halle, 1899, pp. xxx-xxxiv. Groeber also accepts Heuckenkamp's theory. *Grundriss*, 2', p. 1104.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. xi. G. Paris and A. Thomas concur in the statement that it was not lost (*Rom.*, xxviii, p. 484).

write the *De Vita Curiali*, a theory that has been vigorously attacked by Piaget⁸ and Thomas.⁹ To both these savants the Latin *Curial* was due to Chartier's pen, and the inscription in Martène, "Ad Gontherum," suggests that the editors of that compilation simply found this letter among others written by Ambrosius and Col to each other, and moved by a probability, put down the ascription as an actuality.

Heuckenkamp, although accepting—as has been said above—Ambrosius de Miliis' authorship of the *De Vita*, does not believe that the "Gontherum" referred to is Gontier Col. His reasons are, that if it had been written to Col, it would necessarily have been written before 1395, as Col began his court career in that year. It is a little difficult to see as M. Piaget notes¹⁰ why Heuckenkamp makes his court life begin with Col's journey to Avignon and disregards his position as King's notary since 1380. Moreover, while denying that the *De Vita Curiali* is dedicated to Col, Heuckenkamp makes a suggestion concerning the "Gontherum" of the *Amplissima Collectio* reprint. He surmises that it is the "Franc-Gontier" that Philippe de Vitry had just popularized in his *Dit de Franc-Gontier*—the countryman contented with a quiet existence along with a mate of his choice.¹¹ This theory identifying the "ad Gontherum" with Franc-Gontier is attractive, but the first lines of the *De Vita Curiali* makes it hard to accept.¹² "Vir diserte," as referring to "Franc-Gontier," could scarcely be considered apt by any reader of Vitry's poem. Moreover, although we have seen that the term "frater" was used loosely among the Pre-Renaissance group,—an example of which is Nicolas de Clamanges' oft-repeated "frater carissime" addressed to Col,—there is a considerable dif-

⁸ *Romania*, 1901, pp. 45-48.

⁹ *Romania*, 1904, p. 393, note 2; p. 394.

¹⁰ Piaget, *Romania*, 1901, p. 46, and *Le Miroir aux Dames*, Neuchâtel, 1908, pp. 25-26. Je rappelle pour mémoire que M. Heuckenkamp a tenté d'enlever à Chartier la paternité du *Curial*, qui serait l'œuvre d'un humaniste italien, Ambrosius de Miliis. Mais cette thèse, qui un moment a rencontré une grande faveur, n'est plus aujourd'hui soutenue ni soutenable.

¹¹ Heuckenkamp, *Curial*, p. xlv. G. Paris refutes this theory, *Romania*, xxviii, p. 484.

¹² Heuckenkamp, *Curial*, p. 2. The opening lines:

"Suades sepius et hortaris, vir diserte ac carissime frater, ut tibi ad vitam curialem anhelanti ingressum locumque preparem et in officio curiali assequendo intercessione opeque adiutem," etc.

ference between such a usage and the fact of the Humanist author of *De Vita Curiali*, calling Franc-Gontier "carissime frater." While there is no evidence going to show that Alain Chartier did know the members of the Pre-Renaissance group,¹³ there is also nothing to prevent our supposing that he was probably not ignorant of their activities.

As far as sentiments expressed are concerned the *De Vita Curiali* might have been written by any one of several of the Pre-Renaissance group, as well as by Alain Chartier. Vitry's poem has already been mentioned, and it is believed to have inspired Pierre d'Ailly to write *Combien est misérable la vie d'un tyran*.¹⁴ Both these were done into Latin by Nicolas de Clamanges.¹⁵ Monsteruel, in his letter to Col and Manhac,¹⁶ approaches still more closely the idea that inspired the *De Vita Curiali*, viz., scorn for court life. The letter is cast in the form of a vision, that threadbare literary commonplace of the period, and describes how Terence appears to the author, roundly abuses court life, and advises him to give it up, to live in the country, love solitude, read books, etc. All this is much in the tone of the *De Vita Curiali*.

Here are four men with distinct Pre-Renaissance sympathies, extolling the simple life and describing the drawbacks of a court existence. The subject was accordingly decidedly in the atmosphere among this little group of writers—perhaps as a contrast to the stormy times in which they dwelt. Living in a country rent by internal strife and foreign wars, it may be that these men felt a longing for a quiet life, for an occasion of mental stock-taking—a revulsion against the artificialities of court life. Or it may have been simply an attempt to use literature as an escape from life. There is still another consideration which seems plausible and which might explain these

¹³ A. Thomas, in *Romania*, 1904, p. 393.

¹⁴ *Rom.* XXIX, p. 112 sq.; *Rom.* XXVII, p. 64. P. Tschackert: *Peter von Alli*, Gotha, 1877, p. 353.

¹⁵ A. Müntz, *Nicolas de Clémenges, Sa vie et ses écrits*, Strasbourg, 1846, p. 60. 14. *Descriptio vitae tyrannicae* se trouve dans Phil. Camerarius, *Operoe horarum subcivarum*, p. 61. 15. *Carmen de vitae rusticae felicitate*. *Ibid.* The translation is also found in Lydius' edition of Clamanges, *Opera Omnia*, p. 355. Nicolai de Clemangis *Descriptio vitae tyrannicae cum detestatione ac reprobatione*. Note dedication: *Ad Guntherum Colli*.

¹⁶ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1398.

poems about country life. Monstereul quotes Vergil's Eclogues as though they were familiar,¹⁷ and to a group who knew and admired Petrarch, Vergil's Eclogues were probably not unknown. What more natural than that the above-mentioned Frenchmen wrote and translated the poems in a conscious imitation of a classic literary *genre*, to wit, the pastoral. To be sure, this *genre* was not a flourishing one in France at this epoch. There had been a period of efflorescence of that theme in the twelfth century with the *pastourelle*, but its great vogue had passed, and although there is more of the pastoral element in France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than is generally acknowledged, it was found most often in the Nativity plays, Noël's, chansons, and political pastorals; that is to say, the pastoral setting was used as a cover under which to edify religiously, or to attack, flatter or exhort, politically. So while there was enough of the French pastoral influence extant at that time to lead us to admit that the *Franc-Gontier* at any rate may have owed to it part of its inspiration, we can scarcely deny at least a tincture of the Humanistic spirit to the poems of Vitry and Ailly.

V.—GROUP ASPECT OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

The quarrel between Jehan de Monstereul and Ambrosius de Miliis also brings out the group aspect of the Pre-Renaissance, for like the real Renaissance, it had its coterie, to wit, a rather closely knit literary group with an aggressive cast of mind, which we might suggest was one of the favorite means by which France puts into motion her literary reforms. This would describe the Pléiade, as it would the Lyons School, and could also be used without too great an extension of the term, to the group to which Gontier Col belonged. This group also consisted of a number of men moved by the same literary ideal, altho the great difference between them and the two Renaissance coteries lies in the fact that the men of the earlier group were amateurs of letters rather than professionals—as were Ronsard and Maurice Scève. The significance to us of this group as such is briefly this. Bound by ties of friendship certain men exchanged letters that are important in giving

¹⁷ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 60. *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1405. The same line is quoted in both places, Vergil, Eclogue 2, line 35.

us information about them and their intellectual activities that is available nowhere else. Such a source of information is peculiarly valuable when dealing with a man like Col, who was permeated by the diplomatic fear of putting pen to paper; whose self-effacing tendencies are hinted at in the beginning of one of Monstereul's letters, "*Sed rursus peto a te, Gonthere, ne lateas*"; and whose deplorable habits as a letter-writer Monstereul complains of to Col, although he tries to defend him against the criticism of his friends on that score.² If Col was indeed chronically a poor correspondent, it would explain the paucity of letters by him that have come down to us—rather puzzling in view of the large number of letters extant written to him by his friend.³

The dearth of letters by Col could not be quite satisfactorily explained on the theory of a possible confiscation of his property and seizure of his papers, attending his supposed murder in 1418, for a like fate befell other men, whose correspondence, or at least enough to judge them by, has been preserved for us. A case in point is Gontier Col's friend, Monstereul.

A good example of the value of the letters of the members of this group is the "*praeceptores*" letter, written to Col and Manhac by Monstereul; although in view of the dates when Col and Monstereul became secretaries of the King, and in the absence of any trace of Col having taught in any of the Paris colleges, the term "*Praeceptores*" is probably not to be taken literally, but is used in the same loose way that Nicolas de Clamanges uses "*frater carissime*" in his letters. Moreover, Monstereul studied in Paris (though he did not take his degree),⁴ and perhaps this circumstance affects somewhat the attitude of the good Prévôt. There is also another point to be noted. Gontier Col went to Avignon in 1395 where he first came in personal contact with Italian thought. Jean de Monstereul visited Italy for the first time in 1394-1395. It seems not unlikely that he got a glimpse of Humanism, just enough to appeal to his imagination, and when he returned to Paris and was thrown with his fellow-secretary Col, who had also just

¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³ Clamanges, Monstereul, Miliis.

⁴ Thomas, p. 5.

returned from his first contact with Italian life, and who had similar literary tastes with possibly more complete formal scholastic training, it is not to be wondered at that he takes the attitude he does towards Col.

Monstereul's letters to Col are a mine of information,⁵ and show that he was a friend for whom the Prévôt de Lille had great respect. In one of them is found a good description of Col's attitude towards learning and scholars.⁶ Here Monstereul speaks of Col as the man who first advised him to study, who inspired him by his exhortation and his example. He also refers to Col's habit of taking books on his travels with him so as not to waste any time. This testimony to his love of books is confirmed by one of Col's safe-conducts from the English King,⁷ which specifically mentions "libris" in the list of Col's possessions. Monstereul also speaks of his friend's love for discussing things pertaining "ad eloquentiam" (rhetoric), and his encouragement extended to men interested in learning. In still another letter of Monstereul to Maître Gontier the latter's love for the classics and Vergil is again emphasized.⁸

In spite of the testimony of the Prévôt de Lille as to Col's love of Vergil, this author is not quoted by Col in the very pedantic speech he made before the Duke of Brittany, nor in his letter to the Pope, although both contain classical allusions. Col quotes from the Bible (6 citations), "Boèce" (1), "Cato" (1), "les droiz" (1), "la loy" (1), "Orace" (1), Petrarch (1), "Roman de la Rose" (1), "Salust" (1), "Terence" (1), "la Tragédie" (1), anonymous (5). In his letter to the Pope he cites only the Bible, Sallust, and Anneus Seneca, once each. The list is not particularly significant for our purpose, I think, save to note the absence of quotations from Vergil (as already mentioned) or Pliny, although there is evidence to prove that Col owned a manuscript copy of the letters of Pliny. This information is drawn from a letter of the eminent churchman, Nicolas de Clamanges,¹⁰ a friend and cor-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 139.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁰ For his letters to Col, consult his *Opera Omnia*, Lydius edition, 1613, which contains all but fifteen, for which A. Müntz, *Nicolas de Clémenges*, pp.

respondent of Col's. The story runs that Clamanges, during his stay at Avignon as papal secretary, came to know the librarian of Benedict XIII, and that when Nicolas spoke of his friend Col having a manuscript of the letters of Pliny and that a copy might be made for the Pope's library, the librarian was overwhelmed with joy.¹¹

From the nature of the writings that Col has left us, there is little internal evidence as to his first-hand knowledge of the classics, and this information must be drawn from other sources. We have seen that Monstereul tells us that Col admired Vergil; Clamanges tells us that Col owned a copy of Pliny's letters. Beyond this it is not safe to go, for although Monstereul describes Col as one who

23 and 27, note 2, refers to the following works: D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, Paris, 1723, vol. i; Buloeus, *Historia universitatis Parisiensis*, 1670; Baluse, *Miscellanea*, 1713 (vol. vi). For unedited letters of Clamanges to Col, see *Bibliothèque Nationale*; Fonds Latin, 3127, folios 21vo and 36vo, 37rto.

¹¹ Nicolas de Clamanges, *Opera Omnia* (Lydius edition, 1613), Ep. 38, pp. 121-122, cited by L. Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, i, p. 486. While Clamanges' letter fixes Col's ownership of a copy of Pliny's Letters, which is the only thing that directly interests us here, we might note that in the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'Urbain V* (1369) (in M. Faucon, *La librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, vol. i, pp. 93-262), there are references to four copies of Pliny without noting which Pliny is meant: p. 154, No. 694; p. 162, No. 798; p. 163, No. 800; p. 176, No. 965.

However, in view of the following entry, it is possible that both were represented:

Francisci Petrarca, *Epistolae de Rebus Familiaribus et Variæ* (ed. Fracassetti, Florentiae, 1862), vol. ii, p. 182, Epistola V.

"In versiculis autem ad te scriptis quos tam ardentia efflagitas, scito Plinii Secundi consilio opus esse, quem Italia excedens in patria sua, Veronae scilicet, ingenti virorum illustrium comitatum acie, dimisi. Hic mihi Plinius nusquam est, nec alteri, quod equidem ego noverim, nisi romano pontifici."

Although it is known that the Pope's library under Benedict XIII had suffered losses, in the Catalogue of the library of Peniscola there is the following reference to Pliny's letters (M. Faucon, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 140, No. 933):

"Plinius secundus in epistolas."

There are several other references to Pliny in the same catalogue, without, however, distinguishing between the two Plinys as above (Faucon, vol. ii, p. 128):

No. 773. Item, Plinius in uno volumine.

No. 774. Item (6) Prima Pars Plinii.

No. 775. Item Secunda Pars Plinii.

No. 776. Item. Plinius in uno volumine.

The lack of exact dates make it impossible to identify No. 933 with the manuscript that was to be copied for the Pope from Col's copy of Pliny's letters. F. Ehrle, in his *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis* (Romae, 1890), throws no light on the subject.

was interested in original sources, the fact that Col quotes Terence, Cato, Horace is no proof that Col has read them in the original, although this is probable. The manner in which he quotes Petrarch and Jehan de Meung along with the Latin writers and the Bible is refreshingly Renaissance in tone.

Nicolas de Clamanges' letters to Col also show the friendship existing between the two men. His rôle in the quarrel with Ambrosius de Miliis has already been mentioned, and it is rather interesting to note that it is in one of the letters in the quarrel, that of Nicolas to Jehan, that there is perhaps the clearest statement of the friendship of Col and Jehan.¹² Another letter of Nicolas makes mention of Pierre Col, Gontier's brother.¹³ He also writes to Col on such varied subjects as the corruption of the times,¹⁴ their common love of books,¹⁵ the plague raging in Paris,¹⁶ and Col's troubles during the Civil Wars.¹⁷

From a broader point of view, Nicolas is interesting to us not only because of his relations with Col, but because of the stand he took in regard to the state of the Church. I do not wish to touch the subject as to whether he wrote the *De Corruptio* or not, but this much is to be noted: That it is a product of the period and was believed for a long time to be his; and that such a violent attack on the Church did not astonish people into indignantly denying the possibility of its being his. So the Pre-Renaissance like the real Renaissance had in it elements that were germs of the Reformation, although they were all blended together at the beginning of both movements. In the real Renaissance, after a little time, they became separated; in the Pseudo-Renaissance, the movement was checked before any very great development could take place.

The letters of Monstereul and Nicolas de Clamanges not only give us information about the three friends, but also serve to show their connection with prominent savants and littérateurs of the day, such as the famous Gerson, although his position towards them is fairly well defined by his rôle in the quarrel of the *Roman de la*

¹² *Opera Omnia*, p. 31, "Tamen inter," etc.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

Rose. Another prominent savant to whom Monstereul has written a few letters was Pierre d'Ailly, whose lay interests were not only Humanistic, but scientific rather, if I may phrase it so. He was of an inquiring turn of mind, but that faculty of his for investigating untrodden paths, instead of spending itself exclusively in the search and study of Latin texts, turned to astrology and geography, and his *De Imagine Mundi* was the result of this work.¹⁸ It would fall quite outside of my province to discuss the question as to how much of an inspiration Ailly's work proved to be to Columbus in his explorations. This much is sure, the discoverer of the New World owned a copy of the *De Imagine Mundi*,¹⁹ and quoted Ailly's work.²⁰ In addition to the geographical interest which was a prominent factor of the real Renaissance, d'Ailly is significant from still another point of view, i. e., as a writer of mystic poetry.²¹ Among his works are *Le livre du Rossignolet*, which has been called a "chant de mystique amour,"²² *la piteuse Complainte et Oraison dévote de humaine créature qui de l'estat de péché nouvellement à Dieu veut retourner*, and *Le Jardin amoureux de l'âme dévote*, which was printed in Lyons between 1515 and 1527.²³ The element of mysticism in the works of Marguerite de Navarre and of the School of Lyons, which is known to all, shows still another bond between the false and the true Renaissance.

In spite of their interest in the classics and the sciences, however, Ailly and Gerson must be regarded as thoroughgoing theologians, too deeply steeped in mediaeval traditions and too busy with the Schism to be considered forerunners of the Renaissance on the purely literary side.

Philippe de Vitry has already been mentioned, but it is a little difficult to define his personal relations to the three friends, in view

¹⁸ C. Guignebert, *De imagine Mundi ceterisque Petri de Alliaco geographicis opusculis*, Paris, 1902.

¹⁹ H. Harris, *Fernand Colomb, sa vie, ses œuvres*, Paris, 1872, pp. 88, 119, 170.

²⁰ A. de Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent*, etc., i, 60-70, 76-83.

²¹ L. Salembier, *Les œuvres françaises du Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, évêque de Cambrai*, *Revue de Lille*, Décembre, 1906.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

²³ J. Babelon, *La Bibliothèque Française de Fernand Colomb*, Paris, 1913, pp. 92 and 93.

of the paucity of material.²⁴ It is easy to take Philippe de Vitry as an example of the mutations of reputation, for few writers have been the subject of such varied statements and corrections.²⁵ This poet, whom Petrarch addressed as "Tu poeta nunc unicus Galliarum,"²⁶ is represented to us by the *Dit de Franc-Gontier* already mentioned and by the *Chapel des fleurs de lis*. He was long considered the author of that interminable *Ovide moralisé* now ascribed to Chrestien Legouis de S^{te}-More.²⁷

There are a number of contemporaries of Col who had no personal relations with him that have left any trace, although some corresponded with Monstereul and it seems not out of place to mention a few of them here, inasmuch as they were very representative of this epoch. I have in mind first of all the group of translators. Passing reference has already been made to the fact that, although the translators of Charles V (with whom must also be counted those of the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Orleans) had by no means the point of view of the modern scholar towards their text, neither was theirs wholly that of the mediaeval *clerc*. Their attitude on the linguistic side may not be devoid of interest. Let me quote Brunot:²⁸

Au XIII^e siècle, si considérable que soit le nombre des termes empruntés au latin, si conscients même que puissent être certains emprunts, on ne voit point d'effort systématique pour naturaliser des mots latins.

Or c'est là ce qui caractérise les latiniseurs de l'époque nouvelle (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). A tort ou à raison, soit éblouissement des chefs-d'œuvre qui leur sont révélés, soit paresse d'esprit et incapacité d'utiliser les ressources dont leur vulgaire dispose, ils se sentent incapables de l'adapter à des besoins nouveaux et ils le déclarent. Ils ont désormais une doctrine, et un système.²⁹

²⁴ A. Thomas, *Les lettres à la cour des Papes*, Rome, 1884, pp. 56-59.

²⁵ *Romania*, xxvii, pp. 55-92. A. Piaget, *Le Chapel des fleurs de lis de Philippe de Vitry*.

²⁶ P. Paris, *Manuscripts français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, iii, 180-181.

²⁷ *Romania*, x, 455. B. Hauréau, *Mémoire sur un commentaire des métamorphoses d'Ovide* in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxx, Part ii, pp. 52-53.

²⁸ *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, Paris, 1905, vol. i, pp. 515-517. For mention of Pre-Renaissance group, Jehan de Monstereul, Gontier Col, pp. 525-526; Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 541.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 518.

The systematic enriching of the language was also the end and aim of the Pléiade on the linguistic side, although theirs was a much broader programme than that of the translators of Charles V. It is also worth noting the fourteenth and fifteenth century opinion as to the rôle of the translator in developing literature, in view of the importance of the Renaissance translators, who can not be disregarded when the literature of the sixteenth century is studied. The results of the systematic vocabulary-building with Latin material are undeniable. Brunot says:³⁰ "Le nombre de mots latins introduits à cette époque ne saurait être déterminé, même par approximation" . . . "Dans l'ensemble toutefois il restera certainement acquis que l'importation s'est alors fait en masse." This is significant, for it shows certain of the aims and results obtained by the Pre-Renaissance on the linguistic side to have been shared by the Pléiade. Herein lies their importance for us.

The first two translators of the fourteenth century in point of time, Oresme and Berquire, seem to have had no connection with our group, but mention might be made of Laurent de Premierfait, who, it will be remembered, remonstrated with the Prévôt de Lille when that worthy had the laws of Lycurgus carved on the front of his house, and accused him of Paganism. Monstereul treated this charge with little seriousness. He thanked his friend for his good advice, but had no hesitation about stating that his interests leaned to mundane things rather than to sacred ones.³¹ This attitude is quite Renaissance in tone; it involves the "separation of Faith and Reason,"³² which was logically worked out in Pomponio Lato. Without, indeed, going quite so far afield, Monstereul's own contemporary, Coluccio Salutati, said that the Bible was only poetry, in parts, and he cited the poetic books of the Scriptures to defend his stand concerning the reading of the pagan poets.³³

This incident shows that Monstereul's point of view reflected some of the Paganism of the Italian Humanists. It will be noted that Col left no similar trace of incipient tendencies. The point has

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 518.

³¹ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. ii, col. 1409, No. xlvii.

³² *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, May 21, 1896, p. 447; Petit de Julleville, *Jean de Montreuil*.

³³ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, Roma, 1896 (ed. Novati), vol. iii, pp. 541-542.

been raised by Hauvette as to whether the Laurent de Premierfait of the Lycurgus incident can be the one who translated Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustribus*, and the *Decamerone* into French. He explains the problem by positing two distinct sides to Premierfait's nature,⁸⁴ interpreting him as an interesting type of a transitional man, with all the contradictions so frequently found in a transitional epoch, to wit, that of a member of the Church of Rome who did not hesitate to translate the *Decamerone*, and yet of one who called a friend to account for his fondness for Lycurgus, on the ground that it was too secular. Of course, this is a case of the mote and the beam, but it admirably illustrates the subsequent Renaissance struggle between love for divine and profane interests, and as such is of interest to us.

The first translator of the *Decamerone* into French is also an innovator in a small way, for he was one of the first to translate a book written in a modern tongue, although his method of doing so is mediaeval enough to warrant attention being drawn to it. As Laurent de Premierfait did not know Italian, he took a collaborator, an Italian monk, who translated the *Decamerone* into Latin, and Laurent translated the Latin version into French.⁸⁵ This probably did not seem at all questionable to a century that had translated a number of Greek texts, not from the original, but from the Latin translations and modern scholarship has been skeptical of the claims put forward that Guillaume Fillastre knew that language,⁸⁶ since not

⁸⁴ Hauvette, *De Laurentio de Primofato*, p. 29:

"Laurentium de Primofato cum Laurentio Joannis adversario aequari posse vix credibile arbitramur. Non tamen de duobus distinctis Laurentiis agi confidenter asseverare audemus; hoc saltem confirmari posse nobis videtur: si Laurentius unus et idem est qui M. Tullii, Aristotelis et praesertim Boccacii opera transtulit, sacrorumque studiorum causam adversus paganae antiquitatis fautores oravit, fateri debemus duos homines, duas indoles, duas mentes in uno corpore exstitisse."

The only good argument against this theory is one brought forward by Hauvette himself, viz., that in view of the flippant tone of Jean de Monstereul's letter to Laurent de Premierfait, it is improbable that he (J. de M.) would let slip such an excellent "tu quoque" as that afforded by a mention of Laurent de Premierfait's translations of Boccaccio.

⁸⁵ H. Hauvette, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁶ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82. L. Delaruelle, *G. Budé*, Paris, 1907, p. 5:

"On trouve en tête d'une traduction du Phédon, qui est à la bibliothèque de Rheims, une lettre de Filiastre au chapitre de Reims pour qui il avait fait exécuter le ms. (*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits*, xxxix, 1^e Partie, p. 171.)

a Greek MS. is found in this library of Rheims, which contains a number of his MSS. His interest in antiquity was pronounced, however, and that is what gave rise to the idea that he was a Hellenist. He had an inquiring turn of mind, and classical antiquity was not alone in holding his attention. He had an interest in the sciences of mathematics and geography, and his work in the last-named subject would have made its mark,³⁷ had it not been completely cast in the shade by the geographic works of his brilliant friend and contemporary, Pierre d'Ailly.

Passing mention may also be made of Jean Courtecuisse,³⁸ translator of the *Traité des Quatre Vertus*, who with Jacques de Novion took Monstereul's side in his quarrel with Ambrosius de Miliis.³⁹

When the Pre-Renaissance movement is viewed in its general aspects, it is interesting to note the number of points it has in common with the Renaissance proper. The most striking is the influence of Humanistic Italy through its well-known men, through the presence of its less well-known Humanists in Paris, and through trips into Italy undertaken by Frenchmen with scholarly training. To this may be added the rôle of the literary coterie in the development of both the Pre-Renaissance, and the Renaissance proper. In fact, the group to which Col belonged might well be compared without stretching a point to the literary groups of the sixteenth century. Other points common to the two movements are, the activity of the school of translators, and the movement for the conscious enrichment of the vocabulary. The writers on mysticism in the sixteenth century remind us that the Pre-Renaissance had Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson, while in an entirely different field Christine de Pisan's rôle in contemporary letters is a faint forecast of the rôle of the sixteenth century woman in literature.

To these purely literary resemblances between the Pre-Renaissance and the Renaissance proper might be added other points in common that are not primarily of a literary character. A case in

C'est là . . . ce qui a donné lieu à la tradition . . . qui constitue une erreur évidente. Parmi tous les livres de Filiastre qu'a recueillis la bibliothèque de Reims il n'y a pas un seul ms. grec."

³⁷ R. Thomassy, *Guillaume Fillastre considéré comme géographe*, Paris, 1842.

³⁸ A. Coville, *Recherches sur Jean Courtecuisse et ses œuvres oratoires*, in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, No. 65 (1904), pp. 469-529.

³⁹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

point would be the desire for reform within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church, set forth by such men as Nicolas de Clamanges and Jean Gerson in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a movement that had its parallel in the sixteenth century, and eventually led to the Reformation and the Counter-Reform. In still another field certain activities of the Pre-Renaissance foreshadow the real Renaissance. I refer to certain theoretical writings, such as those of Pierre d'Ailly, on various physical aspects of the earth, which were the *livre de chevet* of that master of experimental geography, Christopher Columbus.

It will be seen from the foregoing that traces of some of the dominant literary tendencies of the sixteenth century may be found in French literature at the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth centuries.

VI.—THE RÔLE OF THE "NÉGOCIATEUR" IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

Gontier Col and Jehan de Monstereul were "négociateurs," i. e., diplomatic agents, and by reason of their position came in contact with foreign life. It was while on a diplomatic mission to Avignon in 1395 and to Florence in 1396, that Col had an opportunity to come into personal contact with Italian thought. Monstereul also went to Italy in his official capacity about this time (1394-1395).¹ The imagination of both men was apparently fired by the new spirit that was permeating contemporary Transalpine thought. Col, in the course of his life, devoted his energies mainly to English embassies, and the fiscal matters of the kingdom; but Jehan de Monstereul went to Avignon in 1404, and to Rome in 1412. During the last-named trip he came to know the Early Renaissance Italian men of letters, such as Coluccio Salutato, Leonardo Aretino, Niccolo Niccoli.²

That Col and Monstereul were of such a cast of mind that they would have caught some spark of Humanism even if they had never come in personal contact with Italian life, seems improbable. It is Jean de Monstereul, the one of the two friends who had made a stay

¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 89.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 10 and 12.

in Italy and had known the Italian men of letters, who was the real Humanist, for Col is left far behind by his friend on this score, and Col's importance is rather that of the "enlightened amateur," who encourages by his interest and by his discerning praise or criticism. Both his knowledge and that of Monstereul of matters Italian was brought about thru their diplomatic careers. The rôle of diplomacy in spreading the Humanistic spirit is therefore to be noted; the more so that Col and Monstereul were not primarily literary men, but intellectuals of the day, with minds alert to new ideas and a new outlook on life.

In this connection it might not be devoid of interest to note that diplomacy was responsible for Petrarch's visit to Paris in 1361, and, although he had established friendly relations with Frenchmen during his stay at Vaucluse—notably with Berçuire³—it was after this embassy that Jean le Bon tried to induce the Italian poet to come to his court,⁴ and his stay apparently made an undeniable impression on the French court.⁵ Nor was this true only of France at this time. The same phenomenon may be observed in contemporary England where there were also men whose position as diplomats opened to them mental vistas that they might not have known otherwise. Chaucer is perhaps the most eminent example.

Altogether it seems plausible that these "négociateurs" played a rôle in bringing Humanism into France by reason of the life they led. Doors that would have been closed to the average foreign traveler were opened to them thru their official position, and men with their tastes and eagerness for antiquity were keenly alive to all the advantages that their profession threw in their way.

VII.—CONCLUSION

In the light of what has gone before concerning Col and the Pre-Renaissance group in France at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, the following salient points are conspicuous. Col, like some of the contemporary Italian Humanists and in contrast with the second generation of Humanists, was not first and foremost a professional man of letters. He was

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ Robinson, J. H., *Petrarch*, New York and London, 1914, pp. 125-126.

⁵ G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1912, p. 156.

an example of the "négociateur-amateur" and belonged by birth to the *bourgeoisie*, which had come to the fore in the fourteenth century. He was also typical of the laïcisation of learning—a field of human endeavor that had for centuries been confined to the clerical caste. A testimony to the breaking down of bars in this direction is seen in the semi-literary quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*, in which a layman (Col) and a woman (Christine de Pisan) take part. Maître Gontier's attitude in this quarrel is dictated both by his bourgeois point of view, which was not particularly tolerant of the knightly attitude on the woman question, and by his defense of the individualistic moral code, which was peculiarly characteristic of the Renaissance.

As for the artistic side of the Pre-Renaissance, Col shows an interest in fine manuscripts, tapestries, relics of the Saints set in jewels—a taste which in all its phases was Mediaeval as well as Renaissance; and there is no documentary evidence to show that he had leanings towards the artistic interests of the early Italian Humanists.

Col's chief interest to us lies in that his was what may be called a pioneer mind: he was deeply interested in the contemporary quickening of intellectual interests, whether in the classics or the "sciences." In his case, the interest was in the classics, and his genuine love of books is pretty well established by contemporary evidence. The other point of interest for us lies in his relations with Monstereul, and the rôle he played in the latter's development along the lines of Humanism. In this case, Col taught better than he knew, for Monstereul, who called him his "praeceptor," surpassed him in his receptivity of the new spirit.

The connection between Col, Monstereul and Clamanges, and the rôle that they played as a group, in the early development of Humanism in France, must also be noted as well as the importance played by the diplomatic position of Col and Monstereul, in throwing them in contact with the Humanists. It seems fairly clear that the rôle of diplomatic missions must not be disregarded when tracing the introduction of Humanism into France.

As has been observed, Col has left little literary baggage, whether as regards descriptions of his missions or personal letters.

Yet enough can be gleaned from them and from contemporary documents to get a fair idea of the sturdy figure of the bourgeois of Sens, diplomatic agent and "carrier" of Humanism, who by his class, his affiliations, and his intellectual sympathies, foreshadows some of the dominant characteristics of the following literary age.

ALMA DE L. LE DUC

BARNARD COLLEGE

THE FRIENDSHIP OF JOSEPH SCALIGER AND FRANÇOIS VERTUNIEN

IV.—THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCALIGER AND VERTUNIEN AFTER SCALIGER'S DEPARTURE FOR LEYDEN

(Continued from page 144)

IN 1591 Justus Lipsius, who for twelve years had occupied the chair of Roman history and antiquities in the University of Leyden, obtained a leave of absence in order to seek health at the baths in Germany. For some unknown reason he did not return to Leyden, as he had promised, and the authorities of the University were obliged to appoint his successor. Their choice fell upon Scaliger, "lequel s'est aisement acquis entre tous sçavants de ce temps le los de Phoenix de l'Europe."¹ A special envoy, Gerard Tuning, professor of civil law in the University of Leyden, was dispatched to France with letters for Henry IV from Count Maurice of Nassau and the States-General of the Netherlands, requesting the king to use his influence in persuading Scaliger to accept the call to Leyden, and with a letter to Scaliger from the States-General, beseeching him to "servir de flambeau et esperon aux etudes languissantes de la jeunesse par deçà, à l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu et service de la cause commune; assurens sa seigneurie qu'en tous endroits elle se trouvera rencontrée du faveur et respect que sa noble race et doctrine meritent."² Tuning delivered the letters to Henry IV, but was less fortunate with the letter addressed to Scaliger by the States-General. While on his way to the château of Preuilly, where Scaliger then was, he was robbed by the Leaguers of all the papers in his possession. Upon reaching Preuilly, he informed Scaliger of the contents of the letter from the States-General, and also told him that Henry IV had consented to his departure. Scaliger, who, as

¹ From the letter of the States-General of the Netherlands to Scaliger.

² Nisard, who cites these lines (*Le Triumvirat litt.*, p. 224), calls attention to the "français embarrassé" in which they are couched. The meaning of the expression "sa noble race" is made clear later in the present article.

I have said already, disliked lecturing, refused the offer of the University of Leyden, and recommended Jean Passerat for the place.³

As soon as it became known that the University of Leyden was seeking the services of Scaliger, an effort was made by Vertunien and others to keep him in France. To that end, he was offered a position then eagerly sought by eminent scholars and by nobles of high degree, the tutorship of Henry II of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, the posthumous son of Henry I of Bourbon and Charlotte-Catherine de la Trémoille.⁴ The Princess of Condé entrusted the negotiations to Du Plessis-Mornay,⁵ but, in order to influence Scaliger's decision, she herself wrote him the following letter:

Monsieur de l'Escale,

Encore que de long temps vos vertus aient illustré non seulement ceste France, ains toute l'Europe, si est ce qu'il semble que Dieu vous offre une occasion pour leur donner davantage de jour. Car bien qu'elles soyent espandues sur divers peuples, je tiens la plus part indigne de recevoir ceste lumiere; mais si vos labeurs s'employent à former un prince tel qu'est celuy que je desire qu'il preigne instruction de vous, ce sera faisant bien à un apporter de l'utilité à tout cest estat. La peine en sera moindre et la gloire plus grande. Ces considerations si importantes me font esperer qu'aurez tres agreable le desir que j'ay que vouliez accepter la charge d'instituer mon fils, lequel commence d'estre en aage pour recevoir vos belles impressions; son esprit est plus avancé que ses années.⁶ C'est pourquoy je croy qu'ayant les premiers fondemens de vous, l'œuvre en sera plus parfaicte. L'esperance que l'on prend de luy⁷ merite d'estre augmenté par les enseignements d'un si digne personnage. Ne refusez donc, je vous prie, de servir au Roy mon Seigneur en

³ See a letter from Scaliger to Claude du Puy (Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 293).

⁴ Since Henry IV was still childless by his first marriage, Henry II, Prince of Condé, was heir presumptive to the throne of France.—Charlotte-Catherine de la Trémoille was suspected of poisoning her husband. Concerning her imprisonment at Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and also concerning the question of the legitimacy of Henry II, Prince of Condé, see Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des princes de Condé pendant les XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, II (1864), 179 ff. and 222 ff.

⁵ Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Mornæus*: "Monsieur Du Plessis pensoit faire beaucoup pour moy, et ne faisoit rien, quand il procura pour me faire estre precepteur du petit prince de Condé."

⁶ The Prince of Condé, born in 1588, was about five years old when this letter (undated) was written.

⁷ This child was to be the father of the Great Condé.

ceste occasion, lequel je sçay avoir ceste volonté,⁸ et d'obliger toute ceste France à vous. Pour mon particulier, j'estimeray atteindre au comble de ma plus grande felicité si je puisse acquerir ce thresor à mon fils; faisant peu d'estat de toutes les grandeurs du monde si elles ne sont accompagnées de la vertu. Le gentilhomme⁹ vous dira plus particulierement mon intention sur ce subject. Auquel me remettant, je vous prieray le croire, et que je seray à perpetuité,

Vostre tres affectionnée et obligée amy

KAT. DE LA TREMOILLE.¹⁰

In the meantime Scaliger carried on a correspondence with Gerard Tuning, who had returned to Leyden, and gradually exhibited a willingness to accept the offer of the University of Leyden. The matter was soon arranged, and in the summer of 1593 Scaliger sailed from Dieppe for Holland, never to see France again.

Even after Scaliger's departure the Princess of Condé did not abandon hope of securing his services. In a letter to Louis de Chastaigner, Seigneur d'Abain,¹¹ she says that she envies the Netherlands for having won Scaliger, and remarks patriotically that the French ought to be ashamed for allowing him to be wrested from them. She adds that she still trusts that Scaliger will return to France and take charge of her son.

In a letter to Scaliger, written at Châtellerault on August 16 [1593], M. de la Bonnavière,¹² a gentleman of the Princess's household, said:

"Elle [the Princess of Condé] vous en escrit, et en a aussy escrit à Monsieur d'Abain pour le prier de vous persuader à prendre ceste charge, et oultre tout cela elle m'a commandé expresment

⁸ Such a statement from the Princess of Condé tends to disprove Nisard's assertion that Henry IV detested Scaliger. Compare the following words by Vertunien (Reves, *Epistres françoises*, p. 343): "Et m'a dict ledict Seigneur d'Alibous que certainement le Roy vous [Scaliger] eust faict tresbonne chere, et qu'il vous ayme fort" (March 9, 1593).

⁹ M. de la Bonnavière. Cf. *infra*.

¹⁰ Reves, p. 4. In the *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Joseph Scaliger*, Scaliger says: "On m'escrivit pour estre precepteur ou superintendant du precepteur du prince de Condé, mais je ne l'ay pas voulu; je ne veux point estre courtisan. J'honore les grands, mais je n'aime point les grandeurs."—Jean de Vivonne, Marquis de Pisani, was finally chosen tutor of the young prince. He was assisted by Nicolas d'Aumale, Sieur d'Haucourt, and Nicolas Lefèvre.

¹¹ Reves, p. 358.

¹² Bounivière, according to Reves.

vous faire requeste de ne la vouloir refuser, avec charge de vous faire de si honnestes offres qu'eussiez eu occasion de vous en contenter."¹³

Up to the present time there has been a lacuna in the account of the efforts of the Princess of Condé to engage Scaliger as tutor for her son—the "honest offers" made by her have not been known. It has been my good fortune to discover in the Bibliothèque Nationale the following letter written by François Vertunien to Scaliger on September 24, 1593, in which these "honest" and, to say the least, most flattering offers are set forth in detail:

Monsieur,

Je vous ay par cy devant envoyé lettres de Madame la Princesse de Condé, par lesquelles elle vous supplioit prendre la charge de l'institution de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, son filz, avec autres lettres que ladite Princesse en escrivoit à Monsieur d'Abain pour vous y induire, et outre deux autres lettres, l'une de Monsieur de La Croix,¹⁴ son ministre, et l'autre de Monsieur de la Bonnaviere, gentilhomme de sa maison, que Madame la Princesse vous avoit envoyé expres. Auquel depuis j'ay parlé et communiqué privement de cet affaire, estant allé ces jours veoir ma bonne femme de mere à Chasteleraud: et m'a fort prié vous faire entendre par lettres la creance qu'il avoit de Madame la Princesse pour vous dire à bouche, dont je me veux acquicter par la presente; apres vous avoir supplié me mander par vostre premiere depesche si vous aurez receu mon paquet, où estoient toutes les susdites lettres, et celle que Monsieur d'Abain vous escrivoit sur ce subject. Car si elles s'estoient perdues Madame d'Abain m'en a fait prendre une copie de toutes, que je vous enverrois. Or sa creance estoit telle, que vous aiant pres de monseigneur son filz elle penseroit avoir plus qu'un autre Aristote pres de son Alexandre. Et que pour obtenir ce grand bien elle estoit resoluë de n'espargner rien pour vostre entretien et honoraire. Elle vous offre donc bouche à court pour vous et tous voz serviteurs et chevaulx et vostre plat en vostre chambre, si bon vous semble, ou en celle de ses maistres d'hostel (lequel vous aymerez le mieulx) dont ledit Sieur de la Bonnaviere est l'un. Que vous aurez 3. 4. et tant de chevaulx qu'il vous plaira entretenus en son escurie. Que jusqu'à ce que mondit seigneur son filz soit capable de voz doctes instructions et leçons elle vous baillera gens tels que vous choisirez pour luy apprendre à lire et escrire ausquelz vous commanderez, aiant l'œil seulement sur ses meurs jusqu'audit temps de plus grande

¹³ Reves, p. 31.

¹⁴ A. de La Croix's letter to Scaliger may be found in Reves, p. 388.

capacité. Et pour vostre pension et entretien elle vous offre douze cents escus par an, qui vous seront bien paieiz de la pension que sa Majesté luy a ordonnée sur la recepte generale de St. Jan d'Angely: dont il a receu 8000 escus ceste année: et luy a esté ordonné par sadite Majesté 12000 escus pour l'année prochaine. Cependant que vous serez honoré, chery et servi de tous ses serviteurs comme elle mesme et monseigneur son filz. Voila la charge que j'avois de mondit Sieur de la Bonniviere. De laquelle plus particulièrement il vous escrira, s'il vous plaist luy bailler esperance, et à nous, que vous aurez ce party agreable. Chose que Messieurs de Tumery,¹⁵ Du Puy, et Gillot, conseillers de la court, m'ont dit desirer infiniment, et que si vous vous accordiez à ces conditions deux d'entre eux se resouldroient de vous y faire compaignie. Ilz m'ont prié tous trois de vous baiser humblement les mains et me pria arsoir mondit Sieur Du Puy vous dire que si tost que il saura qu'aurez stabile tabulum à Leidden, il vous escrira. Tous voz autres amys d'icy se portent bien: ausquelz *πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις* j'ay fait et feray voz recommandations, comme vous me commandiez par voz dernieres lettres du 10 Aoust, escrites à Dieppe. Monsieur d'Abain et Madame sont à Prully, et doivent bien tost venir icy trouver le Roy, qu'on y attend. Je leur ay fait entendre le regret qu'aviez d'avoir laissé vostre pauvre alumnus. . . .¹⁶ Je vey y a 20 jours Madame d'Abain à Chasteleraud, où elle estoit venue faire la cene, et avoit sceu la guerison parfaite de Monsieur de la Roche son filz, qu'on m'a dit pourtant estre recidivé à Nantheuil: mais je n'en say pas encor la verité. . . . Nous sommes attendans en patience, ou plus tost impatiemment, nouvelles de vostre heureuse arrivée à Leidden. Dieu nous en doint de telles que nous desirons tous: vous baisant, avec toute la Republicque de ceans, savoir les deux Falaiseaux¹⁷ pere et filz, Monsieur Constans,¹⁸ moy et toutes noz familles, treshumblement les mains. Vale. Caesaroduni [Tours], xxiiii Septembris 1593. Ma bonne femme de mere vous baise treshumblement les mains, et se porte bien, graces à Dieu. . . .

Vostre treshumble disciple et tresobligé serviteur

VERTUNIEN.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur de Lescale
A Leidden.¹⁹

¹⁵ Jean de Thumery de Boissise. Cf. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 121, note 2.

¹⁶ One of the sons of Louis de Chasteigner, Seigneur d'Abain.

¹⁷ Compare ROMANIC REVIEW, VIII, 127.

¹⁸ Nephew of Scaliger's close friend, Jean Boiceau de La Borderie.

¹⁹ Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 395, fol. 176.

Scaliger reached Leyden towards the end of August, 1593. On September 6, in a letter to Pierre Pithou, he wrote:

"Je suis fort content de l'honneur et bon accueil qu'on m'a fait ici. Si cela se continue, je n'ai point de regret à la France."²⁰

In a letter of the same date to Claude du Puy, he said:

"Je suis arrivé ici il y a quinze jours, où j'ai reçu pareil accueil à celui qu'on me promettoit. Et n'ai de quoi jusques aujourd'hui me plaindre ni du pays, ni des hommes. L'Université commence à estre plus fréquentée. Mesmes sur mon advenement il y est arrivé de France plus de vingt escoliers."²¹

Scaliger's sojourn in Leyden was the first event that had separated him and Vertunien since the beginning of their friendship a quarter of a century before. During that period they had not been constantly together, it is true, but the greater part of the time they were both in Poitou, they saw each other, worked together, and when not in each other's company were separated by such short distances that correspondence was an easy matter. Now it was a most serious separation, and there is evidence that they felt keenly the loss of each other's society. The remainder of the present article will show that the bonds of affection between them continued undiminished during the fourteen years that Vertunien lived after Scaliger's departure for Holland.

In a letter written at Tours on September 25, 1594, Vertunien informed Scaliger of his safe return from the "eaux de Pougues,"²² where he spent eighteen days with a number of friends. He also acknowledged the receipt of two works by Scaliger:

"Et pouvez croire si j'ay reçu un grand contentement et de l'un et de l'autre, de celui, dis je, *de vetustate et splendore gentis Scalligeræ*,²³ qu'il y a douze ans que je vous priois mettre en lumière, et l'autre *Cyclometricon*,²⁴ pour lequel j'ay esté tant de fois de-

²⁰ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 298, note 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298, note 1.

²² A few kilometers north of Nevers (Nièvre).

²³ Concerning this epistle, see *infra*.

²⁴ *Cyclometrica elementa duo*, Leyden, 1594. It was in this work that Scaliger proclaimed his discovery of the quadrature of the circle. For the quarrels that Scaliger had with various mathematicians about his discovery, see Nisard, *Le Triumvirat litt.*, pp. 231 ff.

menty lorsque j'affermois que vous n'estiez ny venteur ny menteur, et partant qu'il ne falloît point doubter que n'eussiez faict ce que vous m'escriviez."

In the same letter Vertunien mentioned a new edition of Hippocrates's treatise on wounds of the head:

"Monsieur de Boissonade, medecin d'Agen, me dict . . . que Monsieur Mainald, medecin de Bourdeaux, avoit commenté le livre *De vulneribus capitis* d'Hippocrate,²⁵ et avoit repris vos corrections en quelques endroits."²⁶

On November 25, 1597, Scaliger gave Vertunien the following information concerning his health:

"Quant à moi, je suis tousjours gaillard, la grace à Dieu, sauf que je perds les meules pour moudre. Et n'i a que huict jours que j'en fis saulter une sans douleur. C'est un apprentissage de mourir, que de perdre les dents."²⁷

Among his numerous correspondents in both French and Latin, Scaliger esteemed none more highly than Claude du Puy,²⁸ one of the most brilliant scholars and magistrates that France has ever produced. After the death of Claude du Puy on December 1, 1594, Scaliger corresponded with Du Puy's four sons, Christophe, Pierre, Jacques, and Augustin, to whom in his letters he invariably made mention of the close bond of friendship that had existed between their father and him.²⁹

Vertunien, like Scaliger, after a warm friendship of many years with Claude du Puy,³⁰ corresponded with the latter's sons, or at least with two of them. In the Bibliothèque Nationale I discovered five inedited letters written by Vertunien to Pierre and one to Christophe du Puy, which are of importance for the biography of

²⁵ Mainald's edition was published in 1619.

²⁶ Reves, p. 344.

²⁷ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 319, note 2. In a letter dated February 13, 1605, Vertunien wrote Scaliger: "Je suis fort fasché dont vous semblez estre resolu de finir vos jours en ce pays où vous estes, si mal propre à vostre santé et si éloigné du temperament de vostre Agennois" (Reves, p. 517).

²⁸ Claude, the son of Clément du Puy, studied under Turnèbe, Lambin, Daurat, and Cujas. In the *Lettres françaises*, Tamizey de Larroque published many letters from Scaliger to Claude du Puy.

²⁹ See, for example, the extract published by Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 379.

³⁰ It was through the medium of Scaliger that Vertunien became acquainted with Claude du Puy. Cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VIII, 132.

Scaliger, since Vertunien's "Oracle, Monsieur de la Scala," his doings, and his literary work are virtually their sole topic. On account of Vertunien's intimate relations with Scaliger, these letters furnish several details that are not brought out by Scaliger's biographers or by Tamizey de Larroque's *Lettres françaises*. Three of the letters and the essential parts of the other three are reproduced below.

Monsieur,

Je congnois par vostre treshonneste et gracieuse lettre que non degenerem progenerant aquilae columbam, et que non seulement vous estes heritier des biens et du sang paternel et maternel,³¹ mais aussi des meurs et vertus de deux personnes si rares et si recommandables que je m'estime tresheureux d'estre continué en leur amitié: et mesme dont Madamoyselle du Puy vostre mere se daigne souvenir de moy, qui ne suis qu'un petit verm de terre. Que di je, souvenir? mais encor vous commender de m'aymer et renouveler ceste estreictie amitié qui estoit entre feu Monsieur du Puy et moy. . . . Quant aux Hymnes d'Orphée de la version de mon Oracle, Monsieur de la Scala,³² encor que ma copie, dont j'escrivois autrefois à feu monsieur vostre tresdocte pere, m'ait esté emportée à Leyden par le Sieur de Gourgues,³³ qui m'avoit solennellement promis de me la rendre, et n'en a rien fait, toutesfois il y a un mien amy de la Rochelle qui m'a promis de nous la prester et faire copier: tellement que s'il vous plaist m'envoyer vostre copie faultive, je mettray peine de la vous renvoyer corrigée sur ledit exemplaire. . . . Et pour le regard de la version du 7. livre *ἀνθολογίας*,³⁴ elle a couru la mesme fortune desdits Hymnes. Car pour l'avoir baillée audit Gourgues, quand il alla en Hollande avec mondit Sieur de la Scala,³⁵ à la charge de la faire imprimer avec congé de son autheur, et, à faulte de ce, me la rapporter, il m'a manqué de parole, et s'est mocqué de moy: qui pensois en trouver une autre copie à mon retour de Tours en ceste ville, avec tout plain d'autres opusculs Grecs et Latins de Monsieur de Lescale: mais la Ligue m'ayant tout dissipé et volé par un grand malheur, je suis privé d'un si cher thresor à

³¹ Pierre du Puy, to whom this letter was written, was the son of Claude du Puy and Claude Sanguin.

³² Scaliger's *Orphei Hymni Sacri* was published in the posthumous collections, *Jos. Justi Scaligeri . . . Opuscula*, 1610, and *Josephi Scaligeri . . . Poemata Omnia*, 1615.

³³ Concerning this person, see *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VIII, 131.

³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, 130.

³⁵ None of Scaliger's biographers mentions the fact that Gourgues accompanied Scaliger to Holland.

mon grand regret. Je m'asseure pourtant que ledit Sieur de Gourgues l'a, et qu'il n'y a que la haine mortelle qu'il porte à moy et à tous ceux de nostre religion qui l'empesche de me la rendre.³⁶ Car passant par ceste ville avant qu'il allast à Rome il me dist qu'il pensoit l'avoir, et qu'il la me feroit tenir. Si vous aviez quelqu'amy qui le gouvernast et congneust, peut estre pourriez vous l'obtenir de luy, et en aider voz amys. J'en paierois tresvolontiers la copie et fort cherement, tant j'ay de regret de ceste perte. Reste à vous remercier treshumblement, Monsieur, de l'offre que vous me faites de m'envoier Notas Scaligeri in Guilandini lib. De Papyro,³⁷ que je copiy à Tours. Mais tous les doctes desireroient bien qu'un jour vous missiez en lumiere les doctes notes de deffunct monsieur vostre pere in Ovidium, qu'il avoit corrigé sur force manuscripts, à ce qu'on m'a dit, dont la posterité vous seroit fort obligée, moy particulièrement, qui avec ma femme vous baise humblement les mains et à Madamoyselle du Puy, et qui desire demourer à jamais, Monsieur, Vostre bien humble et tresaffectionné serviteur

VERTUNIEN.

A Poitiers ce V^e Fevrier 1602.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur du Puy
A Paris.³⁸

³⁶ An autograph letter written by Vertunien to Pierre du Puy on July 2, 1602 (Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 38-39), contains further attacks on Gourgues: "... ledit Sieur de Gourgues, qui veult tant de mal à Monsieur de Lescale, à ce que j'entends, et desprise tant tout ce qui vient de sa main, qu'il voudroit qu'aucun n'en veist jamais rien: tant il est ingrat à son bienfaiteur: et non seulement cela, mais a rendu Monsieur d'Abain de son humeur envers ledit sieur. De quoy m'escrivant ce bon seigneur le 12 de Janvier dernier: Or c'est mon destin, dit il. Je suis filz de mon pere, qui ne fait oncques bien dont il n'eust occasion de se repentir. ... Si jamais le filz fut heritier du malheur de son pere, je le suis en cela. Apres son pere et sa mere, il n'y a homme à qui il soit plus tenu qu'à moy. J'en diray autant du satyrus de Bourdeaux [that is, Gourgues], que j'amenay icy avec moy. Tous deux ont conjuré contre leur bienfaiteur." The Monsieur d'Abain mentioned was Henri Louis de Chasteigner, later bishop of Poitiers. He accompanied Scaliger to Holland in the character of pupil (see Mark Pattison, *Essays*, p. 139; Bernays, pp. 20 ff.). The same letter contains a few words about Vulcanius who, Vertunien rightly suspects, published in his edition of Agathias several epigrams of the seventh book of the *Anthology*, translated by Scaliger. This letter also contains Vertunien's description of the life of himself and Scaliger during the nine or ten months they were confined at Touffou; cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VIII, 130.

³⁷ Scaliger's *Animadversiones in Melchioris Guilandini Commentarium in tria C. Plinii de Papyro capita libri XIII* was published in *Jos. Justi Scaligeri . . . Opuscula . . .*, Paris, 1610. The German naturalist, Guilandin, died at Padua in 1589.

³⁸ Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 34.

Monsieur,

On dit communement que les bons rendeurs font les bons presteurs: ce que vous m'avez fait trouver vray par la reddition de la copie des Hymnes d'Orphée, que j'ay receu il y a quelques jours. . . . J'ay envoyé à Monsieur de Lescale la propre lettre du Sieur de Gourgues, pour le prier de nous vouloir faire recouvrer des heritiers du feu F[rançois] Douza la piece que vous et moy desirons tant: chose à quoy je ne m'attends pas, croiant que ce qu'il me mandoit n'est qu'une pure desfaicte et fourbe. Nil tamen tentasse noceret. J'ay receu depuis peu encore lettres de ce grand homme du 14 Septembre dernier, qui me mande de sa bonne disposition, que je prie Dieu luy vouloir augmenter de plus en plus, pour servir au public et advenir sa gloire. Hier relisant une de sesdites lettres du 18 Novembre de l'an 1600, j'y leus un eloge dont voicy les propres mots: Comment doutez vous du bien et profit du livre du Seigneur Philippe de Marnix de St. Aldegonde?³⁹ Ne voiez vous pas que c'est un tressuffisant auteur, et que jamais homme n'a si bien lavé la teste aux Sophistes que faict celuy là? Tenez ce livre là pour le meilleur et plus utile qui ait esté fait en ce temps sur ceste matiere.⁴⁰ On fera bien tost imprimer l'autre partie.⁴¹ Ledit sieur auteur du livre mourut l'an passé au mois de Decembre⁴² à mon grand regret. C'estoit un gentilhomme de qualité et tresdocte. Hactenus ille. Auquel j'ay souvent ouy dire et noté soubz luy tout ce qui est escrit en l'xi et xii chapitres de la iii partie dudit auteur au livre du Tableau des Differents de la religion:⁴³ et croy que tous deux avoient communiqué ensemble de ceste matiere. . . .⁴⁴

Vostre tresaffectionné et humble serviteur

VERTUNIEN.

A Poitiers ce 27 Novembre 1602.

[Address:] A Monsieur

Monsieur Chrestien [read: Christophe]
du Puy, au logis de Madamoyselle du
Puy, vefve de defunct Monsieur du Puy,
conseillier de la court
A Paris.⁴⁵

³⁹ *Tableau des differens de la religion*, first part, Leyden, 1599, a coarse and bitter satire against the Catholic Church.

⁴⁰ Compare De Thou's saner criticism of Sainte-Aldegonde's work (*Thuana*, 1740, p. 47): "Il a mis la religion en rabelaiserie, ce qui est très mal fait." Concerning Rabelais's influence on Sainte-Aldegonde, see A. Delboulle, *M. de Sainte-Aldegonde, plagiaire de Rabelais*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1896, pp. 440 ff.

⁴¹ The second part of Sainte-Aldegonde's satire was published at Leyden in 1605.

Monsieur,

Je ne sçay comment je me pourray jamais revancher de voz courtoisies et liberalités. Si vous eussiez receu la mienne dernière vous n'eussiez pas pris la peine de me copier De Apocryphis Bibliorum: car, comme je vous escrivois, mes Notae Scaligeri se sont trouvées:⁴⁶ desquelles j'ay fait quelques extraicts pour tascher à me revancher d'une partie de voz dites peines. Et si vous n'avez veu l'épigramme que mondit Sieur de Lescale fit à Abain en Grec d'action de graces à Dieu d'avoir trouvé la duplature du cube,⁴⁷ je le vous enverroy avec la version qu'il m'en donna verbo ad verbum. Brief je n'ay rien ny de luy ny d'autre en ma puissance qui ne soit

⁴² Scaliger is slightly in error. Sainte-Aldegonde died on December 15, 1598, not 1599.

⁴³ Part III bears the following title: "Des conditions, vertus et propriétés de l'Eglise." In a note to Chapter XII, Sainte-Aldegonde speaks of the library of Sieur Joseph de la Scale.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, article *Marnix*: "J'avois averty Monsieur de Marnix de beaucoup de belles choses, dont il a bien fait son profit, et les mespisoit lors que je les lui disois; tesmoin cela des Ellenistes . . ., et autres belles observations, qu'il a mises en son livre, et les a de moy. C'est un bel esprit, mais il estoit presumptueux . . . Sainte-Aldegonde s'est gouverné en novice à Anvers [a reference to Sainte-Aldegonde's surrender of the city to the Duke of Parma]. . . . Il n'avoit pas une trop belle librairie, c'estoit de vieux livres pillés en des monasteres . . . Marnixius a bien fait d'crire en gaussant; etiam interdum histriones plus praestant quam philosophi. . . ."

⁴⁵ Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 93.

⁴⁶ An autograph letter written by Vertunien to Pierre du Puy on December 10, 1605 (Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 40-41), deals mainly with Scaliger's notes on certain words and passages in the New Testament. Vertunien concludes thus: "Et à propos de telles notes in novum Testamentum (que ce grand personnage m'assure avoir jusqu'au nombre de 500) mondit Sieur De Thou est apres luy à le solliciter de les mettre en lumiere des que nous estions à Tours. Car luy faisant responce à une lettre qu'il luy en escrivoit à Preuilly, voicy ses propres mots: 'Je suys icy sans livres, je ne puis rien faire sur le nouveau Testament faulte d'outils . . .' Or depuis vostre retour in patriam ce bon Seigneur De Thou m'a prié par deux fois de semondre mondit Sieur de Lescale de faire sortir en lumiere un oeuvre si fructueux que celui là, et si digne de sa vieillesse: ce que j'ay fait . . . Bien croy je pourtant que si nous avons son Eusebe, nous y verrons de belles choses." Concerning the posthumous editions of Scaliger's notes on the New Testament, see Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 179, note 4.

In another autograph letter written to Pierre du Puy on January 9, 1606 (Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 37), Vertunien discusses various works by Scaliger; for example, his edition of Eusebius, his reply to Serarius, and his notes on the New Testament. He also expresses a desire to collect and publish Scaliger's scattered verse.

⁴⁷ Cf. note 24, above.

du tout vostre. D'une chose vous veulx je supplier d'excuser mon enfance aux discours quos excepi ex ore de ce grand homme.⁴⁸ Car vous y trouverez souvent de mon style rude, et non du sien, où il n'y a rien à redire, comme vous sçavez. Les epigrammes que vous m'avez envoyez de luy ont esté trouvez excellents par les doctes de ceste ville. J'ay esté le premier qui luy donnay avis de la faulseté de Guilandin,⁴⁹ et luy envoyay mesme la copie desdites faulses lettres. Ce sont de plaisans artifices pour noircir la splendeur de ces deux grands hommes Scaligers, pere et filz, qui sont plus que trop illustres quand ils seroient filz d'un savetier ou charbonnier.⁵⁰ Autrefois defunct Monsieur de la Trimouille,⁵¹ parlant de Monsieur de Lescale et de tels hommes venus de races illustres: "Telles extractions servent, dit il, à ces grands et doctes personnages ce que sert un beau buffet à faire mieux paroistre la belle vaisselle d'or ou d'argent y contenue." Il fault bien dire que ces gens là ont faulte de bonnes responces quand ils emploient telles fadesses et calomnies en leurs livres. J'attends de jour à autre lettres de mondit Sieur de Lescale par Monsieur de Casaubon: aux bonnes graces duquel, si vous le veoiez quelquesfois, je vous supplieray me recommander et me tenir tousjours, Monsieur,

Vostre serviteur tresobligé

VERTUNIE LAVAU.

A Poitiers ce 26 Fevrier 1606.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur [Pierre] du Puy
A Paris.⁵²

It was during his stay in Leyden that Scaliger reached the height of his renown. The foremost men of Holland, aristocracy, statesmen, scholars, "every one strove to make his sojourn agreeable, and to soften the pains of exile. Here he tasted for the first time his own fame, and, what is better than fame, the silent recognition of superior knowledge."⁵³ His very success in Leyden, his winning of the literary dictatorship of Europe, made him a host of enemies and eventually resulted in his humiliation at the hands of as infamous a band of detractors as has ever leagued against a single

⁴⁸ Probably a reference to the manuscript of the *Prima Scaligerana*.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*: "Guilandin, c'est luy qui a controuvé que mon pere a esté passé Docteur en Medecine à Padoue." Concerning Melchior Guilandin, see note 37, above, and note 64, below.

⁵⁰ Concerning the ancestry of the Scaligers, see *infra*.

⁵¹ Claude de la Trémoille. Cf. note 70, below.

⁵² Autograph letter, Collection Du Puy, 712, fol. 35.

⁵³ Mark Pattison, *Quarterly Review*, 1860, p. 72.

person. "His enemies," says Christie,⁵⁴ "were not merely those whose errors he had exposed, and whose hostility he had excited by the violence of his language. The results of his system of historical criticism had been adverse to the Catholic controversialists, and to the authenticity of many of the documents upon which they had been accustomed to rely. The Jesuits, who aspired to be the expounders of antiquity, the source of all scholarship and criticism, perceived that the writings and authority of Scaliger were the most formidable barrier to their claims. . . . A determined attempt must be made, if not to answer his criticisms, or to disprove his statements, yet to attack him as a man, and to destroy his reputation. This was no easy task, for his moral character was absolutely spotless."⁵⁵

The first attacks on Scaliger, those by Martin Delrio (1601) and Nicholas Serarius (1604), were more or less of a controversial character, and, when compared with the assaults that followed, seem quite innocuous. In 1605 Carolus Scribanus, Rector of the Jesuit College of Antwerp, published his *Amphitheatrum Honoris*, a scatological work of the most appalling nature, in which the leading Calvinists, Scaliger included, were accused of every manner of turpitude. Finally, in 1607, appeared at Mainz the *Scaliger Hypobolimaeus* (the "Supposititious Scaliger") of Gaspar Scioppius,⁵⁶ a work couched in the most elegant Latinity, and the one which, through its general disregard for the truth, did most to discredit Scaliger in the eyes of posterity.⁵⁷

In the *Scaliger Hypobolimaeus*, Scioppius undertook to prove three points—namely, that Scaliger had stolen the name of Scaliger or de la Scala, that Scaliger was an atheist and a debauchee. Inasmuch as Scaliger was a firm believer in God, and was a man of the purest morals,⁵⁸ Scioppius was unable to prove the two points last

⁵⁴ *Selected Essays and Papers*, p. 219.

⁵⁵ Mark Pattison calls attention to the fact that none of Scaliger's assailants was French (*Quarterly Review*, 1860, p. 76).

⁵⁶ Concerning this literary bandit, see Nisard, *Le Triumvirat litt.*, pp. 265 ff. Scioppius later turned his pen against the Jesuits.

⁵⁷ Scioppius's work is a quarto volume of more than eight hundred pages.

⁵⁸ Cf. Nisard, *Le Triumvirat litt.*, p. 281: "En ce qui touche Scaliger, jamais ni dans ses écrits, ni par ses paroles, il n'avait seulement fait soupçonner qu'il ne crût pas en Dieu." *Ibid.*, p. 188: "On ne peut donc nier qu'il ne fût de mœurs austères et que son intérieur ne fût celui d'un sage chez lequel les regards de la foule pouvaient sans scandale pénétrer à toute heure."

mentioned. As regards the first charge, that is, that Scaliger had no legitimate right to bear the name de la Scala, he was more successful.

Since Scaliger was very sensitive about his ancestry, Scioppius exhibited great sagacity in choosing his point of attack. As will be remembered, Jules-César Scaliger, the father of Joseph, maintained that he, Jules-César, was a descendant of the noble house of La Scala, for a century and a half princes of Verona, and the direct lineage of Alanus, Prince of Carniola, the Tyrol, and adjacent regions. Jules-César further asserted that he had an elder brother Titus, from whom he was distinguished by the surname Burden, taken from an ancestral estate in Carnia. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, in his *De Poetis Nostrorum Temporum* (Florence, 1551), applied the name Burdonius or de Burdon to Jules-César, and the fact that there had been in Verona a family named Burdone, whose forbears were barbers, schoolmasters, and sellers of bric-a-brac, led the enemies of the Scaligers to begin an investigation of the matter. As a result, the report was circulated that Jules-César, the self-styled scion of the princes of Verona, was in reality the son of Benedetto Burdone, a Veronese schoolmaster, who had taken the degree of doctor of medicine at Padua, and who "from Padua had gone to Venice, where he opened a bric-a-brac shop near the stairway (*scala*) of the church of Saint Mark,"⁵⁹ from which stairway he adopted the name Benedetto della Scala.

Unfortunately, Joseph Scaliger accepted too readily his father's claims to a noble origin.⁶⁰ In 1594 he addressed to Janus Douza his lengthy *Epistola de Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ et J. C. Scaligeri Vita*,⁶¹ a work, like the statements of Jules-César upon which it is based, "characterized by rhodomontade, exaggeration, or inaccuracy."⁶² It was as a reply to the *Epistola de Vetustate* . . . that Scioppius wrote his *Scaliger Hypobolimæus*,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁶⁰ Jules-César's story of his life and adventures before he took up his abode at Agen "is supported by no other evidence than his own statements, some of which are inconsistent with well-ascertained facts" (Christie, p. 210).

⁶¹ A translation of the part of the *Epistola* that deals with the life of Jules-César may be found in A. Magen's *Documents sur J.-C.S. et sa famille*, Agen, 1873.

⁶² Christie, p. 221.

in which he pledged himself to expose five hundred lies in Scaliger's epistle and to destroy the unsubstantiated claims of the Scaligers to a connection with the princely house of Verona. Scaliger replied to Scioppius in his *Confutatio Fabulae Burdonum* (1608), in which he showed clearly that the *Scaliger Hypobolimaesus* was only a mass of falsehoods, but in which he failed to prove either the truth of his claims to a noble ancestry or the accuracy of his father's account of his life before arriving at Agen.

Scaliger's state of mind in the middle of 1606, the year before the publication of the *Scaliger Hypobolimaesus*, is shown in a letter written at Leyden to Vertunien. His belief in the truth of his father's story appears in this letter, as elsewhere, unbounded. He is confident that he has received from Verona proofs that will silence his adversaries forever. His bitterness toward the Jesuits and his certainty that they will never leave him in peace are evident. His susceptibility and his pride, however, were so excessive that his assertion that he does not care about their attacks must be taken as mere bravado. Scaliger's letter follows:

Monsieur mon compere,

J'ai receu la vostre avec l'eschantillon du livre de Monsieur le Thresorier de S. Marthe.⁶³ Je le remercie par la lettre que je lui escri. Les Jesuites, les diables desenchainés, les monstres d'envie, taschent de me transformer en un Burdonius, au lieu que mon pere s'appeloit d'a Burden, qui est une seigneurie en Carnia appartenant aultrefois à Michael, cousin germain de mon pere. Melchior Guilandin avec le porc Antonio Riccobono ont forgé les lettres de doctorat,⁶⁴ que Superville⁶⁵ vous bailla. Mais nous refuterons bien

⁶³ The *Elogia* of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe. In a letter written to Scaliger on May 7, 1603 (Reves, p. 347), Vertunien says: "J'ay baillé à Monsieur de Sainte-Marthe le memoire de ce que vous m'escrivez de la naturalisation de monsieur votre tres-illustre pere, lequel je ne doute point qu'il n'adjouste à ses Eloges, et ne sente bien honoré de louer un si triplement grand personnage." In another letter written to Scaliger on June 14, 1604 (Reves, p. 354), Vertunien remarks concerning Sainte-Marthe's eulogy of Jules-César Scaliger: "De ma part je l'ay leu et le trouve fort bien fait."

⁶⁴ In a letter to Lipsius (Burmman, *Syll. Epist.*, I, 250), Scaliger wrote: [Melchior Guilandinus and Antonius Riccobonus] "fingunt codicillos Academiae Patavinae, quibus pater meus Iulius Burdonius in doctorem promovetur." Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*: "Riccobonus finxit aliquid contra patrem: vocatur ibi porcus, quia nihil est illo sordidius; vivit adhuc in Italia." See also note 49, above.

⁶⁵ A common friend of Scaliger and Vertunien. He lived at La Rochelle (Reves, p. 353).

ceste trop lourde et grossiere bourde. J'ai receu ces jours passés les monumens de mes ancestres par le moien d'un honneste seigneur Verronnois mien parent, item une lettre d'un aultre Verronnois qui a esté jadis serviteur du feu bon evesque d'Agen Fregose.⁶⁶ laquelle je ferai imprimer. Nul de Veronne ne me cognoist pour Burdonius. Et n'y eust jamais aulcune famille Burdonius en Veronne: joint que mon pere, ni le sien, ne sont point nez à Veronne.⁶⁷ Somme toute que jamais on n'a veu un tel embrasement d'envie sur aultre qu'on voit sur moi: et si n'ont qu'alleguer à l'encontre de moi qu'un aveuglement de jalousie. Je vous dirai bien qu'il y en a autant parmi les nostres que parmi les Loiolites, qui ne peuvent cacher leur maltalent. Tous les livres doresnavant que les Jesuites produiront ou seront expressement contre moi ou pour le moins nul ne sera sans me donner quelque atteinte de dent. Et Dieu sait si je m'en soulcie. Ils n'ont que me reprocher, et moi, beaucoup que leur mettre en barbe. Or laissons ces trompes de guerre civile. Parlons de Madame d'Abain. Je ne sai rien de leurs affaires, et suis en peine comment ils y donneront ordre. *Tantum aes alienum esse intelligo, ut vix ex venditione praediorum redigi possit, quod luendo satis sit.* Je lui escri, et toutesfois je ne sai où ma lettre la doit trouver. Je suis infiniment marri de vostre indisposition. Je n'ai encores, par la grace de Dieu, rien que je puisse reprocher à ma vieillesse, qui dans un mois fournira soixante six ans. Il n'y a que mes dens, dont de sept qui me restoient, moi mesmes ces jours passés m'en arrachai deux, et en mange mieux à mon aise. Somme que j'ai tousjours bon appetit. Je prie Dieu vous maintenir en sa garde et toute vostre famille, ma commere, vostre gendre, vos filles. De Leyden. Ce 14 Juillet 1606. Vostre affectionné compere à vous servir

JOSEPH DELLA SCALA.

[Address:] A Monsieur
Monsieur de la Vau,
docteur en medecine, à Poitiers.⁶⁸

That Vertunien was deeply interested in Scaliger's controversies with the Jesuits, and that he regarded himself as one of Scaliger's chief advisers is shown by several of his letters published by Jacques de Reves. On October 30, 1604, he wrote to Scaliger:

⁶⁶ Jean Frégose. Tamizey de Larroque published a collection of Frégose's inedited letters in 1873.

⁶⁷ Jules-César Scaliger maintained that he was born at the Castle of La Rocca on the Lago di Garda.

⁶⁸ Archives Hist. du Département de l'Aube, L 497, dossier II, autograph letter.

"Or depuis mon retour [from the mineral springs at Barbotan], mandé par Monseigneur de la Trimouille pour le traicter avec Monsieur Milon⁶⁹ de sa maladie dont il mourut dimanche dernier à une heure apres minuict,⁷⁰ j'ay veu là Messieurs du Plessis Mornay, de la Noue, de Saint Germain, et d'Aubigny:⁷¹ qui tous m'ont prié vous advertir que Pere Cotton⁷² se vante que par ses promesses et menées il vous arrachera du lieu⁷³ où vous estes honoré et où on vous tient promesse, pour vous amener là⁷⁴ où vous ne recevrez ny honneur ny le vray de ce qu'on vous promettra. C'est vostre Eusebe⁷⁵ que l'on redoubte, et cecy se fait par un conseil Loyolitique. Tous les susdicts et autres gens de bien s'asseurent, et moy par sus tous . . . que vous voudrez deferer davantage à nostre conseil: non que nous ne desirassions tous infiniment de vous avoir en France, mais que ce fut pour un aultre subject, dont Monsieur Gillot, conseiller de la court, . . . m'entretient fort longtemps."⁷⁶

On December 22, 1604, Vertunien informed Scaliger that he was writing only to "vous reiterer la jactance que fait le Pere Cotton de vous gagner par vaines promesses, et attirer à Paris, pour vous faire revolter. . . ."⁷⁷ C'estoit la crainte qu'avoyent les Jesuites que vostre Eusebe descouvre le pot aux roses. . . . De ma part je dis à tous ces Messieurs là qu'ils ne craignissent point cela, et que sur tous les moines du monde vous estiez ennemy juré de ceux là."⁷⁸

At this time the Church was making many converts from the ranks of the foremost Protestant scholars. On June 12, 1605, Isaac

⁶⁹ A physician of Poitiers.

⁷⁰ Claude de la Trémoille, who married the daughter of William the Silent, died on October 25, 1604. He became a Protestant in 1586.

⁷¹ Leaders of the Protestant party.

⁷² Pierre Coton, the celebrated Jesuit, who became confessor of Henry IV in 1608.

⁷³ That is, Leyden.

⁷⁴ Paris.

⁷⁵ Scaliger's reconstruction of the lost *Chronicle* of Eusebius was published in 1606.

⁷⁶ Reves, p. 350.

⁷⁷ That is, become a Catholic. Cf. *Secunda Scaligerana*, article Cotton: "Pere Cotton se vante de me tirer d'icy et de me faire venir à Paris, et que là je n'auray l'honneur que je penserois y avoir. . . . Il n'y a roy, ni empereur qui me tire d'icy: quand bien mesme les Estats m'osteroient mon honoraire, et me chasseroient hors de leurs pays, si n'irois-je pas à Paris."

⁷⁸ Reves, p. 352.

Casaubon, a warm friend of both Scaliger and Vertunien, wrote Vertunien that the Jesuits were endeavoring to win over not only himself, but even Scaliger, and that Henry IV had signified a willingness to recall Scaliger from Leyden, provided he would return to the Catholic faith. Casaubon said in part:

"Si j'eusse sceu le subject duquel luy [Scaliger] escriviez, je luy eusse escrit aussi de beaux contes sur ce propos. Car la partie a esté dressée pour luy et pour moy ensemble, et pour ce que j'estoy sur les lieux, on m'a attaqué le premier, comme pour sonder quelle esperance il y auroit. Un des Loyolites vint à moy, il y a plus d'un an, me dit qu'il avoit proposé à sa Majesté de rappeler mondit Sieur, et qu'il estoit facile, pourveu qu'il creut conseil et conclust se faire Chrestien."⁷⁹

Although Casaubon wavered to such an extent that he was characterized by his contemporaries as Catholic, Protestant, and atheist, there was never any doubt about Scaliger's religious attitude. To the end he remained a Protestant, moderate, it is true, in so far as religion itself was concerned, and rabid only when the Catholics sought to deny his noble origin or to question his philological and chronological learning.

In 1604, perhaps earlier, Vertunien's health began to decline. In a letter written to Scaliger on May 24, 1604, he complained of the gout and declared his intention to return to Barbotan in the following August.⁸⁰ On October 30, 1604, he informed Scaliger that he had been to Barbotan, "tant pour ma santé et pour fortifier mes jointures fort debilitées de la goutte que j'avois eue deux fois l'année presente, que pour y conduire M^{me} de Sainte Croix et le fils de Monsieur Du Bellay."⁸¹

On August 21, 1607, François Le Coq, Vertunien's son-in-law,⁸² wrote Scaliger a letter giving details of Vertunien's death, which occurred on August 3, 1607. Vertunien, as will be observed from Le Coq's account, died as a result of over-exertion in the per-

⁷⁹ *Isaaci Casauboni Epistolae*, Rotterdam, 1709, II, 241.

⁸⁰ *Reves*, p. 353.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁸² In a letter written to Scaliger on May 23, 1605, Vertunien said (*Reves*, p. 519): "Toute ma famille se porte tres bien, qui a esté augmentée d'un beau fils François Le Coq." Le Coq, like Vertunien, was a physician.

formance of his professional duties. A severe pain in the ear, aggravated by the hot weather and by the fatigue of journeys to La Rochelle and Preuilly, was followed by an intermittent fever which developed into a continued fever, the immediate cause of his death. Le Coq's letter attests Vertunien's deep affection for Scaliger, "which was indeed such that it could be no greater." Only five days before he died his greatest consolation was the last letter that he ever received from the illustrious man who for so many years had been his friend and companion, his oracle and his idol. Le Coq's letter follows:

Monsieur,

Je ne doute pas que ne regretiez beaucoup le decès de feu Monsieur de la Vau, veu la syncere affection qu'il vous portoit, qui estoit certes telle qu'elle ne pouvoit estre plus grande. Celle qu'il vous pleut luy escrire le troisieme du mois passé luy fut rendue, avec le Panegyric de Monsieur Heinsius⁸³ et vos effigies cinq jours avant son decès, et a esté la dernière qu'il aye receu de ses amys. Vous ne sçauriez croire avec quel contentement et consolation il se la fit lire par plusieurs fois, et combien il admira le susdict Panegyric, qui aussi a esté trouvé par Monsieur le Thresorier de Sainte-Marthe et aultres digne de l'eloge que luy donniez par vostre susdicte lettre, et une des plus belles pieces qu'on sçauroit voir, tresagreable, dis je, pour la matiere, et divine pour la forme. Or, Monsieur, puisque Dieu n'a pas permis que le defunct vous remerciasse de ce present, je le fais pour luy. . . . Apres que ledict Sieur de la Vau fut tourmenté de sa douleur d'oreille, qui se reveilla par l'excessive chaleur qu'il endura en un voyage qu'il fist pres la Rochelle au traictement d'un gentilhomme au mois de Juin dernier, et qui s'augmenta par un aultre qu'il fit à Pruilly pour traicter l'aisnée de Madame d'Abain en tres grande chaleur aussi, il fut saisi en ceste ville d'une fièvre double tierce qui se changea en continue, et nous l'osta au vingtiesme jour de son arrest, le troisieme du present, non sine manifestis abscessus in capite indicis, et cum incredibile totius Reip. luctu, maximo vero nostro damno. Mais il n'y a remede: Dieu luy a faict la grace d'aussi bien mourir comme il avoit vescu, et de laisser sa famille en bonne paix et estat, ne restant que sa dernière fille Helene à pourvoir. . . .

Vostre treshumble serviteur

LE COQ.

A Poitiers ce 21 Augst 1617 [read: 1607].⁸⁴

⁸³ See *D. Heinsii Orationes*, Leyden, 1627, pp. 455-470. Daniel Heinsius, intimate friend and favorite disciple of Scaliger, was only twenty-seven years old in 1607, the date of Le Coq's letter.

⁸⁴ *Reves*, p. 232.

In an undated letter to Scaliger, François Castrin speaks of his sorrow at the death of Vertunien :

"Nous et le public y avons fait une grande perte. Mais ce sont des années trop bonnes et trop genereuses pour ce siecle icy, c'est pourquoy elles nous sont enviées des celestielles et eternelles, où elles jouissent de la felicité promise et bien heureuse."⁸⁵

On October 13, 1607, Scaliger replied to Castrin :

"Avant la reception de la vostre, j'avoï esté adverti de la maladie de nostre bon ami M. de la Vau, voire asseuré de sa mort, veu qu'il avoit esté abandonné des medecins. J'ai fait une perte d'un des plus grands amis que j'eusse. . . ."⁸⁶

Scaliger survived Vertunien only sixteen months. At the age of sixty-nine, after a life of ceaseless activity, the last days of which were embittered by the humiliation brought upon him by the venomous attacks of Scioppius⁸⁷ and others, "on the 21st of January, 1609, at four in the morning, he fell asleep in Heinsius's arms. The aspiring spirit ascended before the Infinite. The most richly stored intellect which ever spent itself in acquiring knowledge was in the presence of the Omniscient."⁸⁸

Such was the friendship of Joseph Scaliger and François Vertunien de Lavau, a disinterested friendship between "the greatest scholar of modern times"⁸⁹ and an unassuming, studious provincial physician. For two score years they kept up their intercourse as master and disciple, as physician and patient, as collaborators, as co-religionists, and as friends, and during these years not a single incident arose, in so far as may be judged from existing documents, to mar the serenity of their relations. Had Nisard dealt with the friendship of Scaliger and Vertunien, he would doubtless have explained Scaliger's affection for Vertunien as he explained Scaliger's affection for Casaubon, that is, he would have said that Vertunien "tenait Scaliger pour un demi-dieu et déférait à son sentiment avec l'obéissance passive d'un séide."⁹⁰ Such an ex-

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, xxx.

⁸⁶ Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises*, p. 361, note 1.

⁸⁷ "Scioppius was wont to boast that his book had killed Scaliger" (Christie, p. 221).

⁸⁸ Mark Pattison, *Quarterly Review*, 1860, p. 81.

⁸⁹ Christie, p. 213.

⁹⁰ *Le Triumvirat litt.*, p. 292.

planation would be unfair to both Scaliger and Vertunien. In no instance in his correspondence with Scaliger did Vertunien renounce his self-respect by heaping upon Scaliger the servile flattery the latter had come to expect from everybody.⁹¹ On the other hand, not once did Scaliger address Vertunien in the arrogant, patronizing manner into which he dropped only too often in his correspondence with other scholars. From the beginning to the end of their acquaintance the attitude of the two men towards each other remained unchanged: each regarded the other on a footing of perfect equality as a true and valued friend, in whom the most implicit trust could be placed. Nisard, Scaliger-hater as he was, owned that upon a foundation of mutual respect and admiration was based the friendship that existed between Scaliger and Jacques-Auguste de Thou. Upon the same foundation must be placed the friendship of Scaliger and Vertunien.

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⁹¹ In letters to common friends, the Du Puits, for example, Vertunien did praise Scaliger immoderately, but that was permissible, since Scaliger never saw the letters.

MISCELLANEOUS

ADVANCED DEGREES AND DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. A SURVEY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

IN view of the changes that have taken place recently in the Department of Romance Languages of the Johns Hopkins University, the writer of the present lines thinks the moment opportune to make an inventory of the doctoral dissertations that have been produced by that coterie of brilliant scholars. It was the first Department of Romance Languages in America to grant the degree, and today the number of its alumni is no doubt greater than that of any similar Department on this side of the Atlantic. Nor should it be inferred that quantity has been favored at the expense of quality, for on the contrary from its incipience the Department set up a high standard of scholarly training and attainment, and that standard has always been maintained with rigor.

It not infrequently happens that a scholar of great productivity is inclined either to neglect his students or, on the other hand, to compel them to reproduce, often by rote, his own methods or even his own knowledge to such an extent that they become pale reflections of a not always desirable original. In such cases the pattern is almost invariably of inferior quality: the scholarship of these students is apt to be limited to high-sounding phrases borrowed from the class-room note-book. Any suppression of the individuality of the student is naturally detrimental to the spirit of original research. In this respect the Department of Romance Languages of the Johns Hopkins University was not culpable. When Professor Elliott first instituted the courses leading to the Ph.D. degree, he was fully conscious of the insufficiency of the equipment of the average teacher of modern languages in America. In order to obviate this defect he laid out the severest schemes of study, but, at

the same time, unwilling that the individuality of the student should suffer as a consequence, he permitted the full independence of the candidate to assert itself in the preparation of the doctoral dissertation. It was thus that the pupil acquired a knowledge that was at once thorough and broad, original and vigorous. Thanks to this liberal method it was not impossible for him to attain to an erudition, if not superior, at least equal to that of the instructor. And in this manner Professor Elliott and his Department, by producing scholars of the highest rank, built a monument of enduring importance.

It was in 1881 that the Johns Hopkins University conferred its first Ph.D. degrees in Romance languages upon Edward Allen Fay and Samuel Garner. Since that date the degree has been granted to sixty-six men, of whom four are deceased. To give an indication of the broad influence exerted by this Department upon education in America it is important to note the positions occupied at present by the various recipients of the degree. The list includes one college president, one college vice-president, one college dean, one school superintendent, nine professional and business men, one school inspector, one professor of German, three professors of Romance philology, twenty-one professors of Romance languages (of whom nineteen are heads of Departments), two professors of Spanish, one librarian, one professor of Italian, five associate professors of Romance languages, eight assistant professors, one associate, and five instructors. In other words about fifty of the original sixty-six are actively engaged in teaching the Romance languages and literatures. The four deceased are Thomas McCabe, instructor in Bryn Mawr College, in 1891; Louis Emil Menger, professor in Bryn Mawr College, in 1903; John E. Matzke, professor and head of the Department of Romance languages and literatures in Leland Stanford Junior University, in 1910; and A. F. Kuersteiner, professor and head of the Department of Romance languages and literatures in the University of Indiana, who recently passed away (June 9, 1917).¹ The following institutions, extending over the entire country, are represented (the figure in parenthesis indicating the number of doctors of philosophy of the Johns Hopkins Romance

¹ For obituary notice of Dr. Kuersteiner cf. p. 240.

Department on the teaching staff of each institution): Allegheny College (1); Amherst College (3); Bryn Mawr College (1); Colby College (1); Columbia University (1); Cornell University (1); Daughters College (1); Gallaudet College (1); Goucher College (1); Harvard University (1); Johns Hopkins University (4); Leland Stanford Junior University (1); Millsaps College (1); Oberlin College (1); Ohio State University (3); Princeton University (4); Randolph-Macon College (1); University of Alabama (1); University of California (1); University of Chicago (5); University of Cincinnati (1); University of Indiana (2); University of Michigan (2); University of Minnesota (1); University of North Carolina (1); University of Toronto (1); University of Virginia (1); University of Washington (1); University of Wisconsin (1); Washington and Jefferson College (1); Washington and Lee University (1); Western Maryland College (1); Yale University (3)—a total of thirty-three separate institutions.

Of the dissertations forty-five have been published—the largest number, in the opinion of the undersigned, to the credit of any Romance Department in the United States—five are in press, and sixteen remain unpublished, but MS. copies of these are deposited in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University. The average length of the published dissertations is 88 pages—the longest containing 237 pages and the shortest 32 pages. During the thirty years from the conferring of the first degree under Professor Elliott to his death in 1910, fifty doctoral dissertations were accepted, thirteen of them in the first, nineteen in the second, and eighteen in the third decade; from 1911 to 1917, while the Department was under the direction of Professor Armstrong, sixteen. The record is strikingly uniform, varying from slightly under two per year in the earlier administration to slightly over two per year in the past seven years. To this latter period belong also the seven masters of arts in the appended list. The character and quality of the essays offered for this degree deserve special mention.

As an indication of the wide range of subjects exhibited by the doctoral dissertations, the following loose classification may be made: Fourteen dissertations deal with modern French literature; twelve with Old French literature; eleven with French syntax;

eleven with French or Romance philology; two with folk-lore; two with Spanish literature; four with Spanish philology; three with Italian literature; and eight with Italian syntax or philology. A note regarding the publication of the dissertations may be of further interest: Twenty-nine were privately printed, while the remainder appeared in the following series or reviews (the figure in parenthesis representing the number of dissertations appearing in that publication): *Elliott Monographs* (5); *Modern Philology* (1); *Publications* of the Modern Language Association of America (6); *Revue Hispanique* (2); *Romania* (1); *Studi Medievali* (1); *Studies* of the University of Cincinnati (1); and *Studies* of the University of Nebraska (1). The first foreigner who had the honor of issuing a text in the series of the *Société des Anciens Textes* of Paris was Professor H. A. Todd, and the text he published was the doctoral dissertation that he had just presented at the Johns Hopkins University.

It is obvious, therefore, to even the casual reader that the Department of Romance Languages of the Johns Hopkins University blazed the trail which it has pleased departments in other institutions to follow more or less closely. As a great creative force the influence of this group of scholars has made itself felt in practically all the important universities and colleges in the country.²

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

1881. Fay, Edward Allen, Ph.D.
On the Conditional Relations in the Romance Languages.
(Unpublished.)
Vice-President, Gallaudet College.
1881. Garner, Samuel, Ph.D.

² In addition to the above statistics may be included the four professors, two instructors, and one fellow who have taken the M.A. degree, representing six different institutions of which only two are on the list given. In the statistics as above compiled, no note has been taken of graduate students in the Department who went into teaching without completing the work for an advanced degree. Among them are to be found ten professors, three assistant professors, and ten instructors now connected with universities or colleges, and a large number of teachers in preparatory or high schools.—The author of these lines desires to acknowledge the coöperation of the Johns Hopkins University and the assistance of Professor E. J. Fortier in the preparation of this list.

- The Gerundial Construction in the Romance Languages.
(Unpublished.)
County School Supt., Annapolis, Md.
1883. O'Connor, Bernard Francis, Ph.D.
The Syntax of Villehardouin. (Unpublished.)
New York City.
1884. Jagemann, Hans Carl G. von, Ph.D.
Anglo-Norman Vowel System in its Relations to the Norman Words in English. (Unpublished.)
Professor Germanic Philology, Harvard.
1885. Todd, Henry Alfred, Ph.D.
Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours par Nicole de Margival.
publié par —. Paris, 1883, XXXIX, 117 pp. (SATFr.).
Professor Romance Philology, Columbia.
1886. Fontaine, Joseph Auguste, Ph.D.
On the History of the Auxiliary Verbs in the Romance Languages. Studies of the University of Nebraska, Vol. I, no. 1. 1888, 66 pp.
Bué, France.
1887. Warren, Frederick Morris, Ph.D.
The World of Corneille. A Study of Popular Movements and Notions as seen in his Works. (Unpublished.)
Professor Modern Languages, Yale.
1888. Bowen, Benjamin Lester, Ph.D.
Contributions to Periphrasis in the Romance Languages. (Unpublished.)
Professor Romance Languages, Ohio State University.
1888. †McCabe, Thomas, Ph.D.
The Morphology in Francesco Petrarca's Canzoniere, accompanied by a general introduction and a critical glossary. (Unpublished.)
Deceased.
1888. †Matzke, John Ernst, Ph.D.
Dialektische Eigentümlichkeiten in der Entwicklung des mouillierten L im Altfranzösischen. Baltimore, 1888, 56 pp. Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. V, no. 2.
Deceased.

1888. Wightman, John Roaf, Ph.D.
The French Language in Canada. (Unpublished.)
Professor Romance Languages, Oberlin.
1890. Logie, Thomas, Ph.D.
Phonology of the Patois of Cachy (Somme). Baltimore,
1892, 73 pp. (Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. VII,
no. 4.)
Inspector Schools for Cape Colony.
1890. Shefloe, Joseph Samuel, Ph.D.
Observations on the Phonology and Inflections of the Jersey
French Dialect. (Unpublished.)
Professor Romance Languages, Goucher.
1892. Lewis, Edwin Seelye, Ph.D.
Guernsey: Its People and Dialect. Baltimore, 1895, 82 pp.
(Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. X, no. 1.)
Atty. at Law, New York City.
1893. †Menger, Louis Emil, Ph.D.
The Historical Development of the Possessive Pronouns in
Italian. Baltimore, 1893, VI, 69 pp. (Reprinted from
the PMLA., Vol. VIII, no. 2.)
Deceased.
1894. Bruner, James Dowden, Ph.D.
The Phonology of the Pistoiese Dialect. Baltimore, 1894,
VI, 88 pp. (Reprinted from the PMLA., Vol. IX, no. 4.)
President Daughters College, Ky.
1894. Jenkins, Thomas Atkinson, Ph.D.
L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz of Marie de France: An Old-
French Poem of the Twelfth Century. Published with
an Introduction and a Study of the Language of the
Author. Philadelphia, A. J. Ferris, 1894, 149 pp.
Professor French Philology, Chicago.
1894. Marden, Charles Carroll, Ph.D.
The Phonology of the Spanish Dialect of Mexico City.
Baltimore, 1896, 66 pp. (Reprinted from the PMLA.,
Vol. XI, no. 1.)
Professor Spanish, Princeton.
1895. De Haan, Fonger, Ph.D.

- An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain.
The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1903, xii, 125 pp.
Professor Spanish, Bryn Mawr.
1895. Keidel, George Charles, Ph.D.
Évangile aux Femmes—An Old-French Satire on Women.
Edited with Introduction and Notes. Baltimore, 1895,
93 pp.
Library of Congress.
1895. Symington, William Stuart, Ph.D.
The Folk-Lore of May-day in France. (Unpublished.)
Atty. at Law, Baltimore.
1896. Bonnotte, Ferdinand, Ph.D.
*Phonologie et Morphologie du dialecte picard dans le
Laonnais et le Soissonnais.* (Unpublished.)
Professor French, Western Maryland College.
1896. Johnston, Oliver Martin, Ph.D.
*The Historical Syntax of the Atonic Personal Pronouns in
Italian.* Toronto, 1898, xii, 67 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Leland Stanford.
1897. Armstrong, Edward Cooke, Ph.D.
Le Chevalier à l'Épée—An Old-French Poem. Baltimore,
1900, 72 pp.
Professor French Language, Princeton.
1897. Ogden, Philip, Ph.D.
*A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre,
with a Dialectic Treatment of the Manuscripts.* Balti-
more, 1900, vii, 33 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Cincinnati.
1897. Thieme, Hugo Paul, Ph.D.
*The Technique of the French Alexandrine. A Study of the
Works of Leconte de Lisle, José-Maria de Heredia, Fran-
çois Coppée, Sully-Prudhomme, and Paul Verlaine.* Ann
Arbor, 1897, 68 pp.
Professor French, Michigan.
1898. Baxter, Arthur Henry, Ph.D.
*The Introduction of Classical Metres into Italian Poetry and
their Development to the Beginning of the Nineteenth*

- Century. Baltimore, 1901, 33 pp.
Associate Professor, Amherst.
1898. Brush, Murray Peabody, Ph.D.
The Isopo Laurenziano, Edited with Notes and an Introduction treating of the Interrelation of Italian Fable Collections. Columbus, 1899, viii, 186 pp.
Collegiate Professor and Dean, Johns Hopkins.
1898. Wilson, Richard Henry, Ph.D.
The Preposition *à*. The Relation of its Meanings studied in Old-French. Part I. Situation. Baltimore, 1902, viii, 77 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Virginia.
1899. Frein, Pierre Joseph, Ph.D.
Phonology of the Patois of Pleigne (Canton de Berne). (Unpublished.)
Professor French, University of Washington.
1899. Nitze, William Albert, Ph.D.
The Old-French Grail Romance Perlesvaus. A Study of its Principal Sources. Baltimore, 1902, 113 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Chicago.
1900. Shaw, James Eustace, Ph.D.
The Use of *Venire* and *Andare* as Auxiliary Verbs in Early Florentine Prose. Part I. Baltimore, 1903, 42 pp.
Professor Italian, Toronto.
1901. Frost, Francis LeJau, Ph.D.
The "Art de Contemplacio" of Ramon Lull. Published with an Introduction and a Study of the Language of the Author. Baltimore, 1903, 51 pp.
Clergyman, West New Brighton, N. Y.
1902. Curdy, Albert Eugene, Ph.D.
La Folie Tristan. An Anglo-Norman Poem. Part I. Baltimore, 1903, 40 pp.
Assistant Professor, Yale.
1903. Critchlow, F. L., Ph.D.
On the Forms of Betrothal and Wedding Ceremonies in the Old-French Romans d'Aventure. Chicago, 1905, 41 pp.
(Reprinted from Modern Philology, Vol. 11.)
Assistant Professor, Princeton.

1903. Gould, William Elford, Ph.D.
The Subjunctive Mood in Don Quijote de La Mancha. Baltimore, 1905, 37 pp.
 New York City.
1903. Harry, Philip Warner, Ph.D.
A Comparative Study of the Aesopic Fable in Nicole Bozon. Cincinnati, 1905, 86 pp. (Reprinted from *University of Cincinnati Studies*, 2d Series, Vol. 1.)
 Professor Romance Languages, Colby.
1903. Morrison, Alfred James, Ph.D.
Character-Study in Old-French Romans d'Aventure: The Heroine. (Unpublished.)
 Hampden-Sidney, Va.
1904. Brownell, George Griffin, Ph.D.
The Position of the Attributive Adjective in the Don Quixote. Paris, 1908, 35 pp. (Reprinted from the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XIX.)
 Professor Romance Languages, Alabama.
1904. Buffum, Douglas Labaree, Ph.D.
Le Roman de la Violette: A Study of the Manuscripts and the Original Dialect. Baltimore, 1904, 84 pp.
 Professor French, Princeton.
1904. †Kuersteiner, Albert Frederick, Ph.D.
The Use of the Relative Pronoun in the Rimado de Palacio. Paris, 1911, 125 pp. (Reprinted from the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXIV.)
 Professor Romance Languages, Indiana.
 Deceased.
1905. Easter, De la Warr Benjamin, Ph.D.
A Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure and the Romans Bretons. Part I. Baltimore, 1906, 56 pp.
 Professor Romance Languages, Washington and Lee.
1906. Dargan, Edwin Preston, Ph.D.
The Aesthetic Doctrine of Montesquieu; its Application in his Writings. Baltimore, 1907, 203 pp.
 Associate Professor, Chicago.

1906. Peirce, Walter Thomson, Ph.D.
The Bourgeois from Molière to Beaumarchais. The Study of a Dramatic Type. Columbus, 1907, 88 pp.
Assistant Professor, Ohio State University.
1907. Lancaster, Henry Carrington, Ph.D.
The French Tragi-Comedy. Its Origin and Development from 1552 to 1628. Baltimore, 1907, xxiv, 189 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Amherst.
1908. Mathews, Charles Eugley, Ph.D.
Cist and Cil; A Syntactical Study. Baltimore, 1907, x, 117 pp.
Providence, R. I.
1908. Snavely, Guy Everett, Ph.D.
The Aesopic Fables in the Miroir Historial of Jehan de Vignay. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Bibliography. Baltimore, 1908, 47 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Allegheny.
1908. Stowell, William Averill, Ph.D.
Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address. Baltimore, 1908, xiv, 237 pp.
Associate Professor, Amherst.
1909. Laubscher, Gustav George, Ph.D.
The Past Tenses in French. Baltimore, 1909, 60 pp.
Professor Romance Languages, Randolph-Macon Woman's College.
1910. Blondheim, David Simon, Ph.D.
Contribution à la Lexicographie française d'après des sources rabbiniques. Paris, 1910, 55 pp. (Reprinted from Romania, Vol. XXXIX.)
Associate Professor, Johns Hopkins.
1911. Austin, Herbert Douglas, Ph.D.
Accredited Citations in Ristoro d'Arezzo's Composizione del Mondo. A Study of Sources. Torino, 1911, 51 pp. (Reprinted from Studi Medievali, Vol. IV.)
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1914. Sirich, Edward Hinman, Ph.D.
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1917. Child, John Allan, Ph.D.
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1917. Hastings, Walter Scott, Ph.D.
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1916. Hill, Hinda Teague, M.A.
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1917. Tarr, Frederick Courtney, M.A.
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Instructor, Goucher.

JOHN L. GERIG

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REVIEWS

Préréforme et humanisme à Paris, pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517). Paris, Librairie ancienne André Champion, 1916, in-8, xlviii-739 pp.
Par A. RENAUDET, ancien élève de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, Docteur ès lettres. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Florence (Université de Grenoble), 1^{ère} série.

Ce travail considérable, remarquable par l'abondance et la précision de l'érudition, par la sûreté de la critique, par la ferme impartialité, et par l'intérêt des idées qui se dégagent de l'exposition des faits, sera utile aux historiens de la littérature autant qu'aux historiens de la vie politique et religieuse de la France; il éclaire pour nous une des périodes les plus obscures, les plus confuses, et jusqu'ici les plus négligées du développement de la pensée française.

Le livre de M. Renaudet nous fait assister, année par année, presque jour par jour, à la vie de l'Université et de l'Eglise Gallicane pendant une vingtaine d'années (1494-1517). Dans les révolutions de quelques grandes communautés, dans le développement de l'enseignement, de la prédication et de l'imprimerie, dans les troubles de la discipline ecclésiastique et les rapports souvent difficiles du clergé avec le pape et le roi, nous observons une effervescence et une activité des esprits qui préparent les deux grands mouvements, d'abord conjoints et inséparables, de la Réforme et de la Renaissance.

Après nous avoir exposé dans son *Introduction* et son premier chapitre le désordre de l'Eglise, M. Renaudet, dans une 1^{re} partie, nous fait distinguer, à travers ce désordre, les éléments de renouvellement et de réforme qui existaient en 1494; dans la 2^e et la 3^e parties, il nous conduit de 1494 à 1504, et de 1504 à 1517. Dans chaque partie se succèdent et alternent les chapitres consacrés aux réformateurs et à leurs tentatives de réforme, et les chapitres consacrés à l'expression des doctrines. Au cours de ces chapitres, nous rencontrons d'abondants renseignements sur la vie et l'activité de tous les personnages notables de ce temps, de ceux du moins qui intéressent l'histoire des idées: G. Fichtet et R. Gaguin, O. Maillard et Raulin, J. Standonck et Josse Bade, Erasme et Lefèvre d'Étaples, etc. Sur tous ces hommes et sur bien d'autres encore, ce livre est un répertoire précieux, et qui renvoie aux meilleures sources où l'on peut trouver de quoi ajouter l'information qu'il fournit.

L'intérêt principal de l'ouvrage est de jeter une vive lumière sur le mouvement d'idées antérieur et préparatoire à la Réforme et la Renaissance. M. Renaudet marque fortement les conditions fâcheuses créées par le triomphe du nominalisme; si la philosophie rationnelle est impossible, si la science humaine est incertaine et vaine, il n'y a plus rien que la dialectique stérile, la dispute sans fin et sans résultat, le moulin de la logique tournant toujours à vide. La spéculation théologique elle-même s'arrête et fait place à la soumission sèche, inerte et sans idéal, au dogme incompréhensible.

On ne peut vivre dans ce vide intellectuel. On essaie de sortir de ce néant par le mysticisme qui saisit immédiatement la réalité divine, et par l'humanisme

qui, guidé par les anciens, ressaisit, à l'aide de l'intuition et de l'observation, la réalité morale, et retrouve la possibilité d'un rationalisme.

Le mysticisme, où aspiraient bien des âmes françaises, leur est rapporté de Flandre par les frères de la Vie Commune, et par des religieux de la maison de Windersheim. A leur direction viendront s'ajouter ensuite les influences de Raymond Lulle et de Nicolas de Cuse. Dès lors, la vie religieuse redevient possible: la vraie vie religieuse qui est la vie intérieure, et qui s'épanouit dans la floraison d'une ardente spiritualité.

Mais parallèlement à ce mouvement, et pour les natures qui sont plus intellectuelles que mystiques, et qui ont besoin de vérité plus que d'amour, se développe, grâce à l'imprimerie, et d'abord sous des influences italiennes, un mouvement érudit et littéraire qui ramène les curiosités vers l'antiquité grecque et romaine. Une sorte de renaissance aristotélécienne est suivie bientôt d'une renaissance du platonisme.

Les deux courants du mysticisme et de l'humanisme tendent souvent à se confondre; de là le succès et la force du platonisme dans lequel se fait pour la Renaissance la synthèse du christianisme et de l'hellénisme.

Deux grands esprits sont à la tête du mouvement de l'humanisme: Erasme et Lefèvre d'Etaples. Il est curieux de voir qu'ils ont parcouru les mêmes voies en sens inverse. Erasme, un moment touché par le mysticisme flamand, s'en libère, et se donne tout entier à l'hellénisme, au rationalisme. Lefèvre d'Etaples, qui commence par Aristote, subit l'attrait de R. Lulle et de Nicolas de Cuse, qui le font passer d'Aristote à Platon, et noyer de plus en plus l'humanisme dans le mysticisme. L'un, au moment où M. Renaudet nous laisse, est devenu l'homme de la Renaissance; l'autre, l'homme de la Réforme. Les deux mouvements, sans s'opposer encore, tendent à se séparer.

Ce livre si solide et si riche illumine pour l'historien littéraire les origines de la Renaissance française: il nous fait comprendre Marot et Rabelais, leur idéal, leurs haines, ce que représentent leurs attaques contre la Sorbonne, la scolastique, les sophistes et la barbarie gothique. Il donne les cadres d'idées générales où pourront se loger et prendre sens beaucoup d'utiles monographies sur des personnages de second rang.

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Le Latin mystique; les Poètes de l'Antiphonaire et la symbolique au moyen-âge.

Préface inédite de l'Auteur. Par RÉMY DE GOURMONT. Paris, Georges Crès & C^{ie}, 1913. Second edition. 8vo, pp. xi, 423.

I shall try to present as briefly as possible an outline of the influences which seem to have presided over the making of this most interesting study, some idea of its contents, a list of accessible sources and other references for anyone who may be tempted to use it as an initiation into mediaeval Latin poetry, and a few points illustrating the relations of that older literature with the modern one of the Decadents and Symbolists.

The present volume is a reprint of the study almost as it was first published in 1892 by the *Mercure de France*. The textual changes, says the author in a foreword dated 1912, are few and insignificant. The *préface* did not appear in the older edition.

We are not informed what type of readers may have requested this reprint, which comes very near being an *édition de luxe*. In any case, it seems probable that the works of Huysmans have prompted much of the interest among present-day laymen in the art, the ritual, and the early literature of the church. To be sure, the contemporary strengthening of Catholicism in France has roots far more profound than the literary impulse of the '90's typified later in Jules Lemaitre, in Huysmans, in the *Discours de combat* of Ferdinand Brunetière. Huysmans' *En Route* appeared three years after *Le Latin mystique*, *La Cathédrale* six years after, and *L'Oblat* as late as 1903. Gourmont intended his study to be literary. Certainly he was captivated by the poetry of renunciation and of exaltation—eminently Christian themes; but he has no intention of turning the magnificent citations to propagandist use. Huysmans' series of studies in Catholic music, art, and liturgy were, however, from 1895 on, gaining a tremendous popularity, so that everything illustrating the history and archeology of the Church was sure to find an increasingly interested public. The earlier history of this modern Catholic Reaction, and the contemporary opposition on the part of those who believed in the destinies of science and of criticism, including a consideration of such works as C.-F.-R. de Montalembert's *Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie* (1836) and *Les Moines d'Occident* (1860-67), on the one hand, and of such as Renan's *Histoire des origines du christianisme* (1863-83) on the other, must, of course, be dealt with to obtain a right understanding of the movement as continued in the '90's; but the mere hint is doubtless more than sufficient here.

The subject of Gourmont's study has attracted surprisingly little attention from literary critics, and yet it cannot but be evident to anyone reading a number of these poems that they have a very high average of lyric excellence. Strangely enough, they have generally been put in a place apart as belonging to the special province of the Church. Whether this has been due to a particular respect accorded them as being religious, or, on the other hand, to the prevalent anti-religious sentiment of the middle of the last century, it is futile to discuss. Perhaps both causes have been present. In addition, the discredit attached to the clerkly Latin has doubtless been to the prejudice, as well, of all expression in that guise. In any case, it is no derogation to them to be thought of and enjoyed as literature; furthermore, one can state with assurance that the history of European lyric poetry will never be satisfactorily written until the mediaeval Latin works are given greater importance than is now done.¹

The period represented by the poems cited in Gourmont's collection is that which extends from the third century A.D. to the fifteenth, from Commodian of Gaza to Thomas à Kempis. The treatment of mediaeval poems with a view to adapting them to the Breviary is illustrated by further chapters on the work undertaken under Pius V, Clement VIII, and Urban VIII, and, in Paris, by Harlay and by the Abbé Coffin. These later chapters furnish a concise résumé of the vicissitudes of the poems in the Breviary, a disheartening record of deformation due to the lack of critical loyalty to the old texts, as well as to the admission of new matter.

¹ An illustration of the excellent results to be obtained from a consideration of them is at hand in a recent study and anthology by Professor Frank A. Patterson, *The Middle English Penitential Lyric*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1911.

Gourmont professes no other intention than that of furnishing representative selections, particularly from the fourth to the fifteenth century, accompanying them with French prose versions according to the method which he describes as *littéraire-littérale*. These translations, being from his pen, are indeed of the first interest and they are often helpful for a better understanding of the sometimes arbitrary syntax and vocabulary of the old poets. Yet the judgment shown in the selection of the poems is a still greater merit; it is fair to say that this is the first anthology to offer in small space and with sufficient explanation a really convincing array of Latin religious lyrics. It supplements the collections of Pontus Edélestand du Ménil, to be mentioned further on.

It has been objected to the Latin religious poems that their subjects are almost unvarying, and the conclusion has been drawn that they were no better than set themes, an exercise for rhetorically-inclined monks. The themes may indeed be set themes, for the Middle Ages were filled with two great ideas, first that of penance, with its lurid shadow of the Last Judgment, and second that of a wondering and tender adoration of the Virgin. These ideas became sentiments, and even passions; and this passion and this feeling pierce through all the rhetorical devices with which the language was encumbered. An illustration of this is to be found in a citation from Commodian of Gaza, a convert who was suspected, much as was Huysmans himself, by the Church that received him. Commodian had the distinction of figuring in the list of forbidden authors drawn up at Rome in the year 496. But at that time he was already two centuries dead. After a lapse of some thirteen additional centuries he appears—if we are to judge from the fact that his works were then edited by Cardinal Pitra—to have attained among prelates a somewhat more savory renown. Here, at any rate, we find it interesting to cite a few verses from that astonishing acrostic of his wherein the initial letters of the lines give the title: *De saeculi istius fine*. And astonishing it is, not because of the difficulties overcome in the acrostic form (they are as nothing compared with other frequent *tours de force*), but because the terror of the Last Judgment breathes in these verses, contorted as they must be to suit the exigencies of the form. What we might consider idle affectation was then a worthy effort to the greater praise of the Divinity:

Conclamant pariter plangentes sero gementes,
 Ululatur, ploratur, nec spatium datur iniquis.
 Lactanti quid faciet mater, cum ipsa crematur?
 In flamma ignis Dominus iudicabit iniquos.

As Gourmont suggests, here is the theme of the definitive *Dies Irae* of Thomas of Celano—a theme that re-echoes along all the thousand years that separate the two poems.

In general, however, it may be said that the examples furnished by Gourmont show that in the earlier period, embracing Commodian of Gaza, Prudentius, Sidonius Apollinarius, the lyric quality is less pronounced than later. Even the powerful *Pange lingua* of Claudian Mamertus, or perhaps of Fortunatus (fifth century), is first and foremost a theological exposition, for all the lyric impression it so certainly conveys. But the glory of the coming of God is a theme of enthusiasm which no theological formalism can entirely cover. And in the section illustrating the Carolingian renaissance we encounter the representative poem of the fairer aspect of the Last Judgment—love rather than terror.

Veni, creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia
Quae tu creasti pectora . . .

Accende lumen sensibus
Infunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Next follows a résumé of the history of the *sequence*, a poetic form, says Gourmont, peculiar to the tenth and eleventh centuries, but found again later in Thomas à Kempis.² It hardly seems, however, that in this section he has presented the most fortunate examples; certainly more beautiful sequences have been reprinted by other editors.

The poems addressed to the Virgin with the appellation *Stella maris* find some place in the following sections; the first citation of the kind is in the form of a sequence by Albertus Magnus.³ The example of the *Ave maris stella* given later is notable in prosody as an early example of the so-called *regular* sequence, that wherein the uneven syllable was long:

Ave, maris stella
Dei mater alma
Atque semper virgo
Felix coeli porta.

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore,
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans nomen Evae.

The play upon words, as was mentioned, had then no light or facetious connotation.

Other sections deal with the poetical disquisitions on gems and their symbolic use in poetry. This symbolism of gems has been interestingly treated by Huysmans in Section VII of *La Cathédrale*. A most useful monograph by Frédéric Portal entitled *Les Couleurs symboliques dans l'antiquité, le moyen-âge et les temps modernes*⁴ should, however, be consulted for a better understanding of the passage in Gourmont. According to Portal, not only did the various colors suggest different conceptions, but each color was to be considered in one of three relations, according as it was the hue of the air, that of transparent stones, or that of opaque bodies. The first category of color-representations had reference to life itself (the divinity), the second, that of gems, to the mani-

² In Latin, he says: "C'est un psaume de dix à trente versets, le plus souvent, auquel des allitérations, des recherches de mots, des rimes et des assonances finales ou intérieures donnent seules un air de poème. Mode si exceptionnel et si simple qu'il n'a pas été compris, art si spontanément nouveau qu'il a été méprisé . . ." p. 109). On the following pages he explains the origin of the *sequence* and its use, according to the results of the studies of Léon Gautier. For the *trope* and *prose* see pp. 110-11 and 164-65.

³ The reading of these poems may well be supplemented by that of the chapter entitled *The Star of the Sea* in Mr. Harold Bayley's *Lost Language of Symbolism* (London, Williams & Norgate, 1912, 2 vols.), vol. i, p. 232. The goddess known as the "Star of the Sea" was pagan, and her name was given to the Virgin not without some opposition from scrupulous churchmen. The *sequence* of Albertus Magnus is given on p. 130. The next, the *regular* sequence cited, is on p. 164.

⁴ Paris, Treuttel & Würtz, 1837.

festations of that life in men, and the third class, finally, signified the act resulting from the human reception of the supernal influence. Further most interesting details regarding this mediaeval symbolism are furnished by Gourmont in Section XII, apropos of Marbodius and his treatise on gems.

An apology for Saint Bernard as a poet, a study of the mysticism of the twelfth century as found in Reinerus and others, a criticism of Adam de Saint Victor—whom he terms "un authentique grand poète"—are chapters of more purely literary interest. Then, too, there are useful and sympathetic pages on these two great monuments of mediaeval Latin poetry, the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater*, wherein he shows that they were not the creations of Thomas of Celano and of Jacopone da Todi—admitting these to have been the authors—but slow growths, containing suggestions from many poets. And finally there is a brief record of the growth and transformation of the Roman Breviary.

From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when there were published numerous collections of Church hymns, up to the nineteenth, almost all investigation into the subject of mediaeval Latin poetry was liturgic or otherwise religious in its interest.

Notwithstanding a great advance in the utilization of material for the study of the Middle Ages, typified in the seventeenth-century labors of Du Cange (author of the *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*), the well-nigh universal literary antipathy, from the time of the *Pléiade* to Voltaire, for all that was mediaeval, was in itself enough to preclude any appreciation of the Latin hymns as poetry.

The romantic rehabilitation of the Middle Ages was doubtless responsible for a certain amount of the interest manifested in the first half of the last century. But the epoch of Thierry's *Conquête de l'Angleterre* and of Fauriel's *Histoire de la Gaule méridionale* was of a nature to produce works and collections imbued not only with a spirit of romantically conceived patriotism but with the no less considerable impulse of a true appreciation for scholarship. Such are the collections of Jacob Grimm and A. Schmeller, Pontus Edélestand du Ménil, and Thomas Wright. The more strictly religious interest prevails in the anthologies of Daniel, of Mone, and of Morel.⁵

Cassander: *Hymni ecclesiastici*, Cologne, 1556 (2d ed., Paris, 1616); Fabricius (Georgius), *Poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera*, Basel, 1564; Siber, *Psalterium Davidis*, Leipzig, 1577; Ellingerus, *Hymnorum ecclesiasticorum libri III*, Frankfurt/a/M, 1578; Schulting (Cornelius), *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica*, Cologne, 1592; Marrier, *Bibliotheca cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614; Balingem, *Flos hymnorum de SS. Virgine*, Douai, 1624; Secchi (Anaclet), *Hymnodia ecclesiastica*, Antwerp, 1634; Rivinus, *Carmina sacra*, Leipzig, 1652; Fabricius (J. A.), *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Hamburg, 1734-46; Walchius (C.

⁵ As there is no readily accessible bibliography of these collections, it may be of service to reproduce here a number of titles which contain representative poems from the Middle Ages. The editions of individual poets may be omitted, however, since library catalogues readily give such titles under the authors' names. It is less simple to find the names and titles of collective editions. The following list is purposely incomplete; the volumes cited will furnish many additional titles, and for the sixteenth century, notably, Daniel's *Thesaurus hymnologicus* (1841-56) is useful.

W. F.), *Monimenta medii aevi*, Goettingen, 1757-60; Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca ritualis*, Rome, 1776-81; Gerbert (Martin), *Monimenta veteris liturgiae aemanicae*, Saint Blaise and Ulm, 1777-79; Arevali, *Hymnodia hispanica*, Rome, 1786; Walraffius, *Corolla hymnorum sacrorum*, Cologne, 1806; Rambach, *Christliche Anthologie*, Altona & Leipzig, 1817; Björn, *Hymni veterum poetarum christianorum*, Copenhagen, 1818; Roth, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Augsburg, 1837; Haupt, *Exempla poesis latinae medii aevi* (for this volume, which I have not seen, v. Pontus Edélestand du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines*, 1847, p. 196, note 4); Wright (Thomas), *Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, London, 1838; Grimm (Jacob) & J. A. Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts*, Goettingen, 1838; Kehrein (Joseph), *Lateinische Anthologie aus den christlichen Dichtern des Mittelalters*, Frankfort, 1840; Wright (Thomas), *Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841; Du Ménil (Pontus Edélestand), *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1843; Migne (J. P.), *Patrologiae cursus completus; Series latina*, Paris, 1844-80; Wright (Thomas), *Biographia britannica literaria; Anglo-Norman Period*, London, 1846; Du Ménil (Pontus Edélestand), *Poésies populaires latines du moyen-âge*, Paris & Leipzig, 1847; Kehrein (Joseph), *Kirchen- und religiöse Lieder (12. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, Paderborn, 1853; Mone (F. J.), *Hymni latini medii aevi*, Freiburg, 1853-55; Du Ménil (Pontus Edélestand), *Poésies inédites du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1854; Daniel (Hermann A.), *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, Leipzig, 1855-62; Wright (Thomas), *Political Poems and Songs relative to English History, 1327-1483*, London, 1859-61; Morel (B.), *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (complete in the so-called *Erste Hälfte*), Einsiedeln, 1866; Hubatsch, *Die lateinische Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters*, Goerlitz, 1870; Wright (Thomas), *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the 12th Century*, London, 1872; Kehrein (Joseph), *Lateinische Sequenzen*, Mainz, 1873; Hagenus (Hermann), *Carmina medii aevi*, Bern, 1877; Ozanam (A. F.), *Les Poètes franciscains en Italie au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1882; Schmeller (J. A.), *Carmina burana*, 2d ed., Breslau, 1883; Novati (Francesco), *Carmina medii aevi*, Florence, 1883; Ellinger (Georg), *Deutsche Lyriker des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des 15. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, No. 7, Berlin, 1893.

The critical works appearing during the last quarter of the century, such as those of Novati, Ebert, Gautier, Ronca, Chevalier, have been particularly devoted to what we may call the materials of literary study rather than to that study itself. For the most part the stress has fallen on matters of language, of prosody, or of bibliographical or liturgic interest. Ebert, who dealt with the matter as literature, seems to have given the hymns, the sequences, and the Goliard songs too little study in their relation to the destinies of lyricism.⁶

Bale (John), *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Brytanniae Catalogus*, Ipswich,

⁶ The following works of criticism will prove useful; some are little more than catalogues of names and editions, but almost all are critical; mediæval Latin poetry has not attracted the dilettante. Numerous works on the liturgy and the Church ceremonies have been omitted, although such are rather necessary aids to a right understanding of the texts as they now exist, the exigencies of the service having brought about numerous changes. No periodical references are attempted.

1548 (a later edition is that of Basel, 1557-59; Leyser (Polycarp), *Dissertatio de de ficta mediæ ævi barbarie imprimis circa poesin latinam speciminibus carminum*, Helmstadt, 1719, and *Historia poetarum et poematum mediæ ævi*, Halle, 1721; Grancolas (J.), *Commentaire historique sur le Bréviaire romain*, Paris, 1727; Quadrio (F. S.), *Ragione di ogni poesia*, Bologna & Milan, 1739-52; Lebeuf (Jean), *Traité historique sur le chant ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1741; Martène (Edmund), *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, Antwerp, 1763-64; Peerlkamp (Pieter), *Expositio de vita ac doctrina Belgarum qui latina carmina composuerunt*, Brussels, 1822 (2d ed., 1838); Croke (Sir Alexander), *Essay on the Origin, Progress and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse*, Oxford, 1828; Mohnike (G. C. F.), *Hymnologische Forschungen*, Stralsund, 1831-32; Ampère (J.-J.), *Histoire littéraire de la France avant le XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1840; Berington (Joseph), *Literary History of the Middle Ages* (2d ed.), London, 1846; Gautier (Léon), *Histoire abrégée des proses jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1858; Masing (Woldemar), *Ueber Ursprung und Verbreitung des Reimes*, Dorpat, 1866; Paris (Gaston), *Lettre à M. Gautier sur la versification latine rythmique*, Paris, 1866; Bartsch (Carl), *Die lateinischen Sequenzen des Mittelalters in musikalischer und rhythmischer Beziehung*, Rostock, 1868; Zingerle (A. R.), *Zu spätern lateinischen Dichtern*, Innsbruck, 1873; Bartoli (Adolfo), *I Precursori del Rinascimento*, Florence, 1876; Francke (Kuno), *Die Quellen der Alexandreis* (with an appendix, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Schulpoesie der XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderten*), Munich, 1879; Gautier (Léon), *Histoire de la poésie latine au moyen-âge: Versification, rythmique, hymnes, proses, tropes, mystères*, Paris, 1879; Straccali (Alfredo), *I Goliardi ovvero i Clerici Vagantes delle università medievali*, Florence, 1880; Ebert (A.), *Histoire générale de la littérature du moyen-âge en Occident* (translation by Aymeric & Condamin), Paris, 1883-89; Simcox (G. A.), *A History of Latin Literature from Ennius to Boethius*, London, 1883; Hervieux (Léopold), *Les Fabulistes latins depuis Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1884; Pimont (L'abbé), *Les Hymnes du Bréviaire romain*, Paris, 1884; Dreves (G. M.) & C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi*, Leipzig, 1886 and ff.; Kayser (J.), *Studien zur Geschichte der ältesten religiösen Hymnen*, Paderborn, 1886; Gühr (N.), *Die Sequenzen des romanischen Missels*, Freiburg/i/B., 1887; Duffield (S. A. W.), *The Latin Hymn-Writers and their Hymns*, New York, 1889; Ronca (Umberto), *Metrica e ritmica latina nel medio evo*, Rome, 1890; Boissier (Gaston), *La Fin du Paganisme*, Paris, 1891; Chevalier (L'abbé Cyr-Ulysse-Joseph), *Bibliographie des Hymnes c. Proses de l'Eglise*, Lyons, 1892; also *Poésie liturgique du moyen-âge* (t. 1^{re} of the *Bibliothèque liturgique*, Paris, 1893); or, *Repertorium hymnologicum; Catalogue des chants, hymnes . . . en usage dans l'Eglise latine*, Louvain, 1892-97; Mazzoni (Guido) (editor), *Esercizioni sulla letteratura religiosa in Italia nei secoli XIII e XIV*, Florence, 1905; Delehaye (H.), *Le Leggende agiografiche; con appendice da W. Meyer* (tr. from the French), Florence, 1906; Novati (Francesco), *I Goliardi e la Poesia latina medievale* (vol. 9, ser. 2^a, no. 1 of the *Biblioteca delle Scuole italiane*).

The more particularly philological study of the last fifty years, resulting in the elucidation of so much in the realm of the divers national literatures, has touched upon the mediæval Latin literature, as such, but lightly. And yet it is entirely evident that from the standpoint of the lyric no study of Provençal

Italian, French, English or German can be satisfactory without a realization of the older vulgar Latin influence exercised not only through the liturgy, but through independent lyrics of religious inspiration, and, on the other hand, through the profane poems such as the Goliard and other political songs. The Italian poems of Jacopone da Todi, for all the large place which they rightly occupy in the thirteenth-century poetry in the vernacular, are nevertheless as truly Latin in their traditions as is the final *Stabat Mater* itself. The Romanic tongues have been termed varieties of modern Latin. In like manner, the literature in the clerkly neo-Latin furnishes the earliest articulation of mediaeval thought.

The idea that the mediaeval Latin used for writing was a truly living tongue not at all in "decadence," is perhaps the most novel conception in Gourmont's hitherto unpublished preface. The language used by these poets and theologians was certainly, for them, altogether alive. The miserable latinity with which they have been reproached was doubtless for them a matter of almost complete indifference; they wished to be intelligible, and they made themselves so by a frank use of the Latin tongue as it was employed to meet ordinary needs. That this tongue, in the earlier part of the Middle Ages, was more or less a *conscious* idiom among the clerks, is easily conceivable: the truly "vulgar" Latin must already at that time have been turning visibly—or, rather, audibly—into French, and Spanish, and Italian. Later, it is hardly conceivable that there was any such feeling: the clerkly Latin was learned at a very early age by all who entered the Church or who made profession of the law, and must have been for every scholar in Europe more genuinely a mother tongue than was the learned Latin of the Renaissance for Erasmus. That the mediaeval Latin is less elegant may be admitted, but its corrupt state is the best proof that it was used without affectation. The poems are ample proof that it was used with feeling.

The following lines, first published in 1892, resume Gourmont's justification of the term "popular" as applied to this language; they also connect the literature with the modern one of the Symbolists:

Plus d'un trait de la figure caractéristique des poètes latins du christianisme se retrouve en la présente poésie française,—et deux sont frappants: la quête d'un idéal différent des postulats officiels de la nation résumés en une vocifération vers un paganisme scientifique et confortable . . . et, pour ce qui est des normes prosodiques, un grand dédain. A cause, sans doute, de ces semblances vaguement perçues, le nom nous fut donné de *décadents*; il ne peut convenir. La *décadence* d'une langue c'est sa mort lente; elle ne peut être perçue qu'après son extinction totale. *Décadents* furent relativement les poètes qui sculptèrent en un bois vermineux; . . . pour en référer encore, par exemple, au "*Stabat Mater*," quels signes de *décadence* reconnaître en ce poème œuvré par une main douloureuse mais sûre, selon des lignes très nobles, des voiles raidis comme par des larmes de sang, en cette robe de deuil mais frangée d'or vert, mais stellée d'améthystes?

Ne furent-ils pas bien plutôt les *décadents*, les Italiens qui alors, ou plus tard un peu, ovidifiaient de mythologiques lamentations? (pp. 8-9).

As a matter of fact, although the word "decadent" was indeed used to damn the productions of the symbolist school—properly an off-shoot from the "decadents"—it probably had no reference in the minds of most to the writers of Latin poems in the Middle Ages. "Être *décadent*, c'est être sceptique, c'est

accepter tous les progrès de la civilisation," says A. Baju in *Le Décadent*, in 1888 (cited by A. Barre in *Le Symbolisme*, p. 97). Thus, the parallel so strikingly instituted by Gourmont was not only not generally realized, but appears, on the whole, to have extremely little justification in fact. For if the mediaeval hymnologists had little trust in the things of this world, at the same time they expressed themselves constantly in all the truest orthodoxy of ascetic doctrine; the verse of Commodian of Gaza cited by Gourmont:

Discite quæso bonum, cives, simulacra cavete,

is no parallel to the sentence of Baju.

As for the disregard of accepted prosody, the school of the Symbolists and the mediaeval Latin poets were simply opposites in tendency. The trend of the Symbolists has been towards "free" verse and a poetry implying an entirely new arrangement of literary values: the mediaeval Latin, in spite of all its "proses" and "sequences"—free forms often necessary when adapted to the antiphonal service—was to pass through the *préciosité* of such as Adam de Saint-Victor to bring forth, in its vernacular descendants, the ultra-formalism of the *puys* and of the *jeux floraux*—the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, in short, and the Mastersingers. Hermann Hagenus' *Carmina mediæ ævi* contains some verses showing most minutely sought-out acrostic designs, and the Hebrew tradition of the *abecedarian* is perpetuated in more than a few religious poems.

But a better development of his thesis that vulgar Latin was not truly decadent, any more than the works of the Symbolists were so, might be made out of the astounding facility of both periods of literature in the making or re-forming of words. It is a point indeed suggested by Gourmont but not followed to its conclusions. Doubtless, of the two, vulgar Latin showed the more normal development, and modern French Symbolism the more artificial one.

With the exception, at times, of a rather deliberate latinization of Greek terms, the mediaeval poems show only a normal adaptation of words to supply those not at hand, or else not remembered from the classical Latin. Rarely is there such a seeking for exoticism as in a sequence of Hermanus Contractus, *De Sancta Cruce*, written in the first half of the eleventh century, and beginning thus:

Grates, honos, hierarchia et euphonizans tibi, interminabiliter hymnologia,
Sacrosancta tu patris hostia, Sancte Christe, rex monarchos, omnium antistes
et eulogumene.

A page of Jules Laforgue is no more easily comprehensible to the French reader nurtured on the classics of the "grand siècle" than the *Dies iræ* would have been to Horace. Both the problematic Horace and the admirer of the French of Racine might be justly aggrieved in their respective susceptibilities; yet Jules Laforgue, like Walter Pater in another sense, is refreshing, and the mediaeval Latin poets how much more so to the ear jaded with harmonies already archaic!

Gourmont intended his book, he states, to be especially useful as an anthology. As such it is indeed valuable, since so many of the older collections are hard to come at. Yet *Le Latin mystique* is not of great value as an anthology, when compared with the great collections, since it is really only a sort of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* of lyrical mystic poems—very slender, after all, were

it stripped of its translations and the author's admittedly popular text. And there is no pretention to any addition of unedited material. Yet the hitherto unpublished preface and the remarks on the Decadents are destined to form more converts to the idea of a mediaeval vulgar Latin literature than perhaps any single work so far published. Certainly Ebert, in his comprehensive history of mediaeval Latin literature (including also the origins of the national literatures), has furnished an impressive array of titles which none who have followed him could wish to ignore. But there is little doubt that he left room for another, perhaps more exhaustive, and certainly more sympathetic treatment from the aesthetic side. The interesting notes intercalated with the examples printed by *Edélestand du Méril* would seem to form, in a sense, a more useful introduction to the lyric poetry.

As a handbook for the beginning of a study of mediaeval Latin poetry, *Gourmont's* book is incomplete, although purposely so, in its omission of other than religious popular poems. This lacuna is bridged, in part, by *du Méril's* collections and in part by *Wright* and by several more recent compilations of *Goliard* and other political songs—for the *Goliard* songs, no less than the penitential and other religious lyrics, must occupy an important place among the sources of the later vernacular literature, since they are often subjective and as such tend to drift away from the classic Latin poetry. Certain of the *Goliard* songs, indeed, beneath their loud gayety, come very close to the melancholy that knows nothing of the redemption of the soul through penitence, which takes on the aspect of pessimism, sometimes even of that brutal variety of pessimism which we call cynicism.

On the whole, it seems that this edition, with its translations, indices, serviceable bibliography, and chronological arrangement of poets from *Commodian* of *Gaza* to *Thomas à Kempis*, constitutes one of the most useful handbooks available for those beginning the study of mediaeval Latin poetry. What is of still more importance is that it is at the same time a really interesting handbook—one of the very rare treatments since that of *Edélestand du Méril* to succeed in putting the Latin Middle Ages into an intimate relationship with the history of lyricism. It is a subject certainly destined to be productive of further interesting study.

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OBITUARY

PAUL MEYER, 1840-1917

Romance scholarship has sustained a unique loss in the death of Paul Meyer, for with him closes an epoch. To feel this, one need only examine the critical work done previous to 1860. With the arrival at maturity of Paul Meyer and his intimate and life-long friend, Gaston Paris, commences for France the glorious period of the application of scientific principles to Romance philology and to the early history of the Romance literatures.

Paul Meyer enjoyed the advantages of study at the Ecole des Chartes, and thus became and remained one of the most remarkable paleographers of his generation. He was for a while archivist at Tarascon, then in the department of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, where thruout his life he was one of the familiar figures. He showed such ability and judgment in the matter of manuscripts that he was many times sent on paleographic visits, especially to England. He served as garde mobile in the war of 1870, became secretary to the Ecole des Chartes and later, in 1882, succeeded Guessard as director of this institution, a position which he held until his death. In 1876 he succeeded E. Quinet at the Collège de France. He received in 1883 the biennial prize of 20,000 francs, awarded by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, of which he became a member the following year. He was a commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur.

In countries outside of France, Paul Meyer was best known as the founder, with Gaston Paris, of the *Romania*, in 1872. They had founded six years earlier the *Revue Critique*, whose purpose at first proved to be destructive, its constructive effort coming later. The two brilliant young scholars set out to destroy the unscientific spirit then dominant. One can obtain an idea of the purpose which animated Paul Meyer by reading an article published in the *Correspondance Littéraire* for 1864, entitled "A propos d'une Election récente à l'Académie des Inscriptions" (pp. 75-79). His services at the Académie des Inscriptions were devoted mainly to the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Notices et Extraits* and the *Histoire littéraire de la France*. Despite the interest in ancient things which these subjects indicate, Paul Meyer was one of the most modern of men. This appeared thruout his long career, as, for example, in the excellent pamphlet, "Pour la Simplification de notre Orthographe" (1905).

A large part of our regreted colleg's critical studies appeared in the *Romania*. Among his numerous books may be mentioned his *Recueil d'anciens Textes*, his editions of *Flamenca*, the volumes on *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature française du Moyen Age*, *Raoul de Cambrai* (with A. Longnon), the *Apocalypse en français au XIII^e Siècle* (with L. Delisle), *Documents de Linguistique du Midi de la France*. He performed a labor of love in re-editing two works by his departed friend, Gaston Paris: the *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* and the *Littérature française au Moyen Age*.

Extreme devotion to truth and absence of fear were among the dominant traits of Paul Meyer. His rôle in the Dreyfus affair would suffice for the glory of a lifetime. He possest, along with the stern qualities mentioned, much kindness and generosity, which he took pains to conceal, so great was his aversion to sentimentality. His kindness appeared increasingly during his last years. The scientific spirit never abandoned him, and all of the last letters he wrote chronicled the decreasing powers which he noted in himself. He was born at Paris the 17th of January, 1840, and died the 9th of September, 1917. The funeral exercises, which were of extreme simplicity, were held at the Ecole des Chartes, and a large number of friends attended. A pastor of the Reformed Church officiated. Brief remarks were made by Professor Prou in behalf of the Ecole des Chartes, Professor Langlois for the society of former students of the Ecole, Professor Léger for the Collège de France, and Professor Thomas for the Institut. The interment took place at Montparnasse.

R. W.

